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The gift of the  
Rev<sup>d</sup> H. Pearson Vicar of Boston  
to  
Charles James Fox

Oct<sup>r</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> 1835.

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T R A V E L S

I N

N O R T H - A M E R I C A ,

IN THE YEARS 1780, 1781, AND 1782.

BY THE

MARQUIS DE CHASTELLUX,

ONE OF THE FORTY MEMBERS OF THE FRENCH  
ACADEMY, AND MAJOR GENERAL IN THE  
FRENCH ARMY, SERVING UNDER THE COUNT  
DE ROCHAMBEAU.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH  
BY AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN,

WHO RESIDED IN AMERICA AT THAT PERIOD.

WITH NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR.

Πολλὰν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἶδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω. Odyſſey. B. I.

Multorumque hominum vidit urbes, & mores cognovit.

V O L U M E II.

---

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR G. G. J. AND J. ROBINSON,  
PATER-NOSTER ROW.

M D C C L X X X V I I .

TO A M T V E B T 22

TO THE

SECOND VOLUME

NORTH AMERICA

IN THE YEARS 1780, 1781, AND 1782.

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# C O N T E N T S

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T R A V E L S  
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N O R T H - A M E R I C A.

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*Journal of a Journey in Upper-Virginia, in the  
Apalachian Mountains, and to the Natural  
Bridge.*

FROM the moment the French troops were established in the quarters they occupied in Virginia, I formed the project of travelling into the upper parts of that province, where I was assured that I should find objects worthy of exciting the curiosity of a stranger; and faithful to the principles, which from my youth I had lain down, never to neglect seeing every country in my  
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power, I burned with impatience to set out. The season however was unfavourable, and rendered travelling difficult and laborious; besides, Experience taught me that travelling in winter never offered the greatest satisfaction we can enjoy; that of seeing Nature, such as she ought to be, and of forming a just idea of the general face of a country; for it is easier for the imagination to deprive a landscape of the charms of spring, than to cloath with them, the hideous skeleton of winter; as it is easier to imagine what a beauty at eighteen may be at eighty, than to conceive what eighty was at eighteen.—Monsieur de Rochambleau being absent likewise during the month of February, and Monsieur le Chevalier de la Luzerne having chosen the month of March to pay us a visit, politeness and my duty obliged me to wait till April, before I could begin my travels.—On the 8th of that month I set out with Mr. Lynch, then my Aide de Camp and Adjutant, now General; Mr. *Frank Dillon*, my second Aide de Camp\* and  
Mr.

\* Monsieur le Baron de Montesquieu went to Europe after the siege of York, and did not return until the month of September following.



Mr. le Chevalier d'Oyrè of the engineers : six servants and a led horse composed our train ; so that our little carravan consisted of four masters, six servants, and eleven horses. I regulated my journey by the spring, and gave it time sufficient to precede us. For though in the 37th degree of latitude, one might expect to find it in the month of April, I saw no trace of it in the wood through which we passed ; the verdure being hardly discoverable on the thorns, the sun notwithstanding was very ardent, and I regretted to find summer in the heavens, whilst the earth afforded not the smallest appearance of the spring. The eighteen miles through which we passed, before we baited our horses at *Bird's* tavern, were sufficiently known to me, for it was the same road I travelled last summer in coming from Williamsburgh. The remaining sixteen, which compleated our days work and brought us to *New-Kent-Court-House*, offered nothing curious, all I learnt by a conversation with Mr. Bird was, that he had been pillaged by the English when they passed his house in their march to *Westover*, in pursuit of Monsieur de la

Fayette, and in returning to Williamsburgh, after endeavouring in vain to come up with him. It was comparatively nothing to see their fruits, fowls and cattle carried away by the light troops which formed the vanguard, \* the army collected what the vanguard

\* It is with great reluctance that truth compels me to confirm the horrid depredations committed by the English army in their progress through many parts of America. Much has been said on this subject, both in and out of parliament, but I am sorry to say, that future historians of this unhappy war, will find the fact too well established to refuse a decisive verdict. Happy if *the result* may tend henceforth to alleviate the miseries of mankind, and mitigate the horrors of a civil contest. The wife of an Englishman, one of the principal merchants of Philadelphia, having retired with her family to the neighbourhood of Mountholsy in the Jerseys, assured me, that she found the country in general well affected to the English, until the arrival of their army, whose indiscriminate and wanton enormities soon alienated their most zealous friends, for even the officers were contaminated with the insatiable spirit of revenge and plunder. Amongst various anecdotes, she related to me the circumstance of the cruel treatment of a lady of her acquaintance, who was devoted to the British interest, and gave up her house with exultation to some officers of *Clinton's* army in



had left, even the officers seized the rum, and all kinds of provisions, without paying a farthing for them; this hurricane which destroyed every thing in its passage, was followed by a scourge yet more terrible, a numerous rabble, under the title of *Refugees* and *Loyalists*, followed the army, not to assist in the field, but to partake of the

B 3

plunder,

their retreat from Philadelphia. But not only was her zeal repaid with insult and her own house plundered; she had the mortification to see it made the receptacle of the pillage of her poorer neighbours. Observing some of the officers make frequent excursions, and return, followed by soldiers, laden with various articles, she had at length the curiosity to pass into the garden, and looking through the window, saw four of them, and *the Chaplain*, emptying a sack containing stockings, shirts, shifts, counterpanes, sheets, spoons, and women's trinkets. The booty was regularly shared, and the distribution of these unhallowed spoils, to her utter astonishment and horror, was no other than the minister of virtue and religion. The detail of this war is a history of such iniquity: was it possible therefore to expect a more favourable termination of it, either on the principle of a Divine Providence, or of human conduct?

TRANSLATOR.

plunder \*. The furniture and cloaths of the inhabitants were in general the sole booty

\* The Loyalists no doubt, no more merit indiscriminate censure than any other body of men ; the Translator, who thinks he understands the true principles of liberty, for which he has ever been a zealous and unshaken advocate, admits however, and admires the virtue, honour, and steadfast attachment of many illustrious individuals to a cause, directly destructive of his own wishes ; but with every fair allowance for the violence inseparable from civil contests, he cannot help bearing his testimony to the wanton outrages committed by an unprincipled banditti who attached themselves to the royal cause, and branded it with ruin and disgrace. The root of this evil originated in the *Board of Loyalists* established by Lord George Germain at the instigation of skulking Refugees, who flying themselves, from the scene of danger, took up their residence in London, and were in the incessant pursuit of personal and interested vengeance. He does not assert that their councils lost America, but it is now past doubt, that they formed a strong secondary cause of precipitating that event, and of embittering the separation. General Clinton, the whole army at New-York, can witness the insolence and indirect manaces of this incorporated rabble of marauders, in the affair of *Captain Huddy*, and the subsequent claim of the Congress. Had the war continued, this *imperium in imperio* must have been attended with the most fatal consequences ; this illiberal narrow mind-

booty left to satisfy their avidity; after they had emptied the houses, they stript the proprietors; and Mr. Bird, repeated with indignation, that they had taken from him by force, the very boots from off his legs. In my way hither I had the satisfaction however of recalling to mind the first punishment inflicted on these robbers. Six miles from Williamsburgh I passed near a place where two cross roads intersecting each other, leave an open space; one leading to Williamsburgh, the other to *James-town*. On the 25th of June, Monsieur de la Fayette here ordered the vanguard to attack that of Lord Cornwallis; *Sincoe*, who commanded it, was left behind to collect the cattle, whilst Lord Cornwallis was encamping at Williamsburgh, where he arrived the preceding evening. Monsieur de la Fayette's cavalry with some infantry mounted behind them, arrived soon enough

ed set of men, became the spies and censors of British policy, and British conduct, and the commander in Chief himself, was struck with horror at their unenlightened, blood-thirsty tribunal.

4 TRANSLATOR.



enough to force *Sincoe* to an engagement, and was soon after joined by the rest of the American light infantry. *Sincoe* fought with disadvantage, till Lord Cornwallis marching to his assistance, the Americans retired, after having killed or wounded near 150 men, with the loss only of seven or eight. Colonel *Butler*, an American officer, who commanded a battalion of light infantry, and Colonel *Galvan* \* a French officer, who commanded another, distinguished themselves very much on this occasion. The recollection of this event, the presage of that success which crowned our campaign, employed my thoughts so much the more agreeably the whole evening, as we had taken up our lodgings in a good inn, where we were served with an excellent supper, composed chiefly of sturgeon, and I had two kinds of fish, at least as good in Virginia as in Europe, but which make their appearance only in the spring.

The next morning I had an enjoyment of another kind. I rose with the sun, and whilst

\* The same who afterwards shot himself at Philadelphia. See notes to 1st vol. TRANSLATOR.

whilst breakfast was preparing, took a walk round the house; the birds were heard on every side, but my attention was chiefly attracted by a very agreeable song, which appeared to proceed from a neighbouring-tree. I approached softly, and perceived it to be a mocking bird, saluting the rising sun. At first I was afraid of frightening it, but my presence on the contrary gave it pleasure, for apparently delighted at having an auditor, it sung better than before, and its emulation seemed to increase, when it perceived a couple of dogs, which followed me, draw near to the tree on which it was perched. It kept hopping incessantly from branch to branch, still continuing its song, for this extraordinary bird is not less remarkable for its agility, than its charming notes; it keeps perpetually rising and sinking, so as to appear not less the favourite of Terpsichore, than Polihymnia. This bird cannot certainly be reproached with fatiguing its auditors, for nothing can be more varied than its song, of which it is impossible to give an imitation, or even to furnish any adequate idea. As it had every

every reason to be contented with my attention, it concealed from me no one of its talents; and one would have thought, that after having delighted me with a concert, it was desirous of entertaining me with a comedy. It began to counterfeit different birds; those which it imitated the most naturally, at least to a stranger, were the jay, the raven, the cardinal, and the lapwing.\* It appeared desirous of retaining me near it, for after having listened, for a quarter of an hour, on my return to the house, it followed me, flying from tree to tree, always singing, sometimes its natural song, at others, those which it had learned in Virginia, and in its travels; for this bird is one of those which change climate, altho' it sometimes appears here during the winter. As the next day's journey was to be longer than that of the preceding one, we left *New-Kent-Court-House* before eight o'clock and

\* Or rather the painted plover, which is the lapwing of America. It differs from ours, by its plumage, mixt with grey, white and yellow gilt; it differs also a little in its song, but it has the shape and manners, and is absolutely the same species.



and rode twenty miles to *Newcastle*, where I resolved to give our horses two hours repose; the road was not so level as that we had travelled the day before, and was rendered more agreeable by being diversified with some little hillocks. From the top of them you had a view to the distance of some miles, and at times one might perceive *Pamunkey* River, which runs at the bottom of a deep valley, covered with wood. As you approach *Newcastle*, the country becomes more gay. This little capital of a small district, contains twenty-five or thirty houses, some of which are pretty enough. When our horses were reposed, and the heat already troublesome in the middle of the day, was a little abated, we continued our journey, that we might arrive, before dark, at *Hanover-Court-House*, from which we were yet sixteen miles. The country through which we passed is one of the finest of lower Virginia. There are many well cultivated estates, and handsome houses, amongst others, one belonging to Mr *Jones*, situated near the road, two miles from *Newcastle*, of a very elegant appearance, which, we were informed, was furnished with infinite

finite taste, and what is still more uncommon in America, that it was embellished with a garden, laid out in the English style \*. It is even pretended, that this kind of park, through which the river flows, yields not in beauty to those, the model of which the French have received from England, and are now imitating with such success †.

The

\* The Author has since seen this garden, which answers the description given, and is really very elegant.

† The gardens I have hitherto seen in France professedly laid out on the English model, are with great deference to the Author, but very *unsuccessful imitations* of the English style; those of the Comte de Artois at *Bagatelle*, and of the Duke of Orleans at *Mousseaux* near Paris, are indeed no imperfect imitations of *Mr. Sterling's* in the comedy of the *Clandestine Marriage*, of the Spaniard's at Hampstead, of Bagnigge-wells, or a Common Council-man's retreat upon the Wandsworth road. They present a fantastic, and crowded groupe of Chinese pagodas, gothic ruins, immoveable windmills, molehill-mounts, thirty grass patches, dry bridges, pigmy serpentine, cockleshell cascades, and stagnant duck-pools. The gardens of the *Thuilleries* and *Marly*,

Three miles from Hanover, there are two roads, that which we were to follow winds a little towards the north, and approaches the Pamunkey. We arrived before sunset and alighted at a tolerable handsome inn; a very large saloon and a covered portico, are destined to receive the company who assemble every three months at the *Court-house*, either on private or public affairs. This asylum is the more necessary, as there are no other houses in the neighbourhood. Travellers make use of these establishments, which are indispensable in a country so thinly inhabited, that the houses are often at the distance of two or three miles from each other. Care is generally taken to place the Court-house in the center of the county. As there are a great many counties in Virginia, they are seldom more than six or seven leagues diameter; thus every man can return home after he has finished his affairs.

The

with all their undisguised, artificial labours, are at least noble, magnificent, and useful; their terraces are grand, and their lofty *Berceaus* beautiful, and well adapted to the climate.

TRANSLATOR.



The county of Hanover, as well as that of New-Kent, had still reason to remember the passage of the English. Mr. *Tilghman*, our landlord, though he lamented his misfortune in having lodged and boarded Lord Cornwallis and his retinue, without his Lordship's having made him the least recompense, could not yet help laughing at the fright which the unexpected arrival of Tarleton spread amongst a considerable number of gentlemen, who had come to hear the news, and were assembled in the Court-house. A negro on horseback came full gallop, to let them know that Tarleton was not above three miles off. The resolution of retreating was soon taken, but the alarm was so sudden, and the confusion so great, that every one mounted the first horse he could find, so that few of those curious gentlemen returned upon their own horses. The English, who came from Westover, had passed the *Chilkabominy* at *Button's-bridge*, and directed their march towards the *South Anna*, which Mr. de la Fayette had put between them and himself.

Mr.

Mr. Tilghman having had time to renew his provisions since the retreat of Lord Cornwallis, we supped very well, and had the company of Mr. *Lee*, brother to Colonel *Henry Lee* \*; who long commanded a legion, and often distinguished himself, particularly in Carolina †. We  
set

\* Colonel Harry Lee is a smart, active young man, first cousin to Mr. Arthur Lee, and Mr. William Lee, late Alderman of London. He rendered very essential services to his country, particularly in the southern war. His corps was mounted on remarkably fine, high-priced horses, mostly half blood English stallions, and officered principally by his own family and relations. Had the war continued, there is every reason to believe that the American cavalry would have taken some consistence, and have become very formidable in the field; Mr. Tarleton received many severe checks in his exploits from the corps under Colonel Washington, and that of Colonel Harry Lee. Towards the close of the war, he had to encounter an enemy very different from flying militia, and scattered bodies of broken, half disciplined infantry, of whom slaughter *may* be service, but conquest no honour. TRANSLATOR.

† Lord Cornwallis was unquestionably the English General whose courage, talents and activity, occasioned the greatest loss to the Americans; it is not astonishing therefore he should not have inspired them with sentiments similar to those of his own

set out at nine the next morning, after having breakfasted much better than our horses, which had nothing but oats, the country being so destitute of forage, that it was not possible to find a truss of hay, or a few leaves of Indian corn, though we had sought for it for two miles round. Three miles and a half from Hanover we crossed the South Anna on a wooden bridge. I observed

troops, whose attachment, and admiration of his character, were unbounded. Yet they never accused him of rapine, nor even of interested views, and the complaints of Mr. Tilghman only prove the sad consequences of a war, in the course of which the English suffered more from want, in the midst of their success, than in their disasters; the former carrying them far from the fleet, and the latter obliging them to approach it. But the most painful of these consequences was the necessity which compelled a man of my Lord Cornwallis's birth and character, to conduct, rather than command, a numerous band of traitors and robbers, which English policy decorated with the name of *Loyalists*. This rabble preceded the troops in plunder, taking special care never to follow them in danger. The progress was marked by fire, devastation, and outrages of every kind; they ravaged some part of America: 'tis true, but ruined England, by inspiring her enemies with an irreconcilable hatred.



observed that the river was deeply embanked, and from the nature of the soil concluded it was the same during a great part of its course: it appears to me therefore that would have been a good defence, if Monsieur de la Fayette, who passed it higher up, had arrived in time to destroy the bridge. On the left side of the river the ground rises, and you mount a pretty high hill, the country is barren, and we travelled almost always in the woods, till one o'clock, when we arrived at *Offy*, and alighted at General *Nelson's*, formerly Governor, of Virginia. I had got acquainted with him during the expedition to York, at which critical moment he was Governor, and conducted himself with the courage of a brave soldier, and the zeal of a good citizen. At the time when the English armies were carrying desolation into the heart of his country, and our troops arrived unexpectedly to succour and revenge it, he was compelled to exert every means, and to call forth every possible resource, to assist Monsieur de la Fayette to make some resistance; and furnish General Washington with horses, carriages,

riages, and provisions; but I am sorry to add, what will do but little honour to Virginia, that the only recompense of his labours was the hatred of a great part of his fellow citizens. At the first assembly of the province, held after the campaign, he experienced from them neither the satisfaction he had a right to expect, at being freed from servitude, nor that emulation which is the general consequence of success; but instead of these sentiments, so natural in such circumstances, a general discontent, arising from the necessity under which he had often laboured, of pressing their horses, carriages and forage. Those laws and customs which would have ceased to exist by the conquest of the province, were put in force against its defender, and General Nelson, worn out at length by the fatigues of the campaign, but still more by the ingratitude of his fellow citizens, resigned the place of Governor, which he had held for six months, but not without enjoying the satisfaction of justifying his conduct, and of seeing his countrymen pardon the momentary injuries he had done their laws, by endeavouring

deavouring to save the state. If to the character I have just given of General Nelson, I should add, that he is a good and gallant man, in every possible situation of life, and has ever behaved with the utmost politeness to the French, you will be surprized that I should go to visit him in his absence, like *Matbwin* in the comedy of *Rosé and Colas*, for though I knew he was not at home, as I had met him near Williamsburgh, where he was detained by public business, the visit I intended to pay him formed a part of my journey I undertook—besides that I was desirous of seeing his family, particularly his younger brother, Mr. William Nelson, with whom I was intimately connected at Williamsburgh, where he passed the greatest part of the winter. *Offly* is far from corresponding with the riches of General Nelson, or with his high consideration in Virginia; it is but a moderate plantation, where he has contented himself with erecting such buildings as are necessary for the improvement of his lands, and for the habitation of his *overseers*; his general residence is at *York*, but that he was obliged to



abandon : and Offly being beyond the South Anna, and situated far back in the country, he thought that this lonely house would be at least a safe retreat for his family ; it was not secure however from the visits of Lord Cornwallis, who, in his peregrinations thro' Virginia, advanced even so far, though without doing much mischief. In the absence of the General, his mother and wife received us with all the politeness, ease, and cordiality natural to his family. But as in America the ladies are never thought sufficient to do the honors of the house, five or six Nelsons were assembled to receive us ; amongst others, the *Secretary* Nelson, uncle to the General, with his two sons, and two of the General's brothers. These young men were all married, and several of them were accompanied by their wives and children, all called Nelson, and distinguished only by their christian names \*, so that during the two days which I passed in this truly patriarchal house, it

was

\* The French in general assume the surname, by which they chuse to be distinguished in the world, so that the name which, with us, is a real bond

was impossible for me to find out their degrees of relationship. When I say that we passed two days in this house, it may be understood in the most literal sense, for the weather was so bad, there was no possibility of stirring out. The house being neither convenient nor spacious, company assembled either in the parlour or saloon, especially the men, from the hour of breakfast, to that of bed-time, but the conversation was always agreeable and well supported. If you were desirous of diversifying the scene, there were some good French and English authors at hand. An excellent breakfast at nine in the morning, a sumptuous dinner at two o'clock, tea and punch in the afternoon, and an elegant little supper, divided the day most happily, for those whose stomachs were never unprepared. It is worth observing, that on this occasion, where fifteen or twenty people, (four of whom were strangers to the family

C 3 or

of affection, is soon lost with them. I was long acquainted with four brothers in France, without knowing they were related to each other.

TRANSLATOR.

or country) were assembled together, and by bad weather forced to stay within doors, not a syllable was mentioned about play. How many parties of *tristrac*, *whist*, and *lotto* would with us have been the consequence of such obstinate bad weather? Perhaps too, some more rational amusements might have varied the scene agreeably; but in America, musick, drawing, public reading, and the work of the ladies, are resources as yet unknown, though it is to be hoped they will not long neglect to cultivate them; for nothing but study was wanting to a young Miss Tolliver who sung some airs, the words of which were English, and the music Italian. Her charming voice, and the artless simplicity of her singing, were a substitute for taste, if not taste itself; that natural taste, always sure, when confined within just limits, and when timid in its weakness, it has not been altered, or spoiled by false precepts and bad examples.

Miss Tolliver has attended her sister, Mrs. William Nelson, to Offly, who had just miscarried, and kept her bed. She was brought up in the middle of the woods by  
her



her father, a great fox hunter, consequently could have learned to sing from the birds only, in the neighbourhood, when the howling of the dogs permitted her to hear them. She is an agreeable figure, as well as Mrs. Nelson her sister, tho' less pretty than a third daughter, who remained with her father. These young ladies came often to Williamsburgh to attend the balls, where they appeared as well dressed as the ladies of the town, and always remarkable for their decency of behaviour. The young military gentlemen, on the other hand, had conceived a great affection for Mr. Tolliver their father, and took the trouble sometimes to ride over to breakfast and talk with him of the chase. The young ladies, who appeared from time to time, never interrupted the conversation. These pretty nymphs more timid and wild than those of Dianna, though they did not conduct the chase, inspired the taste for it into the youth: they knew however how to defend themselves from fox-hunters, without destroying, by their arrows, those who had the presumption to look at them.

After

After this little digression, which requires some indulgence, I should be at a loss for a transition to an old magistrate, whose white locks, noble figure, and stature, which was above the common size, commanded respect and veneration. *Secretary Nelson*, to whom this character belongs, owes this title to the place he occupied under the English Government. In Virginia the Secretary, whose office it was to preserve the registers of all public acts, was, by his place, a member of the council, of which the Governor was the chief. Mr. Nelson, who held this office for thirty years, saw the morning of that bright day which began to shine upon his country; he saw too the storms arise which threatened its destruction, though he neither endeavoured to collect, or to foment them.

Too far advanced in age to desire a revolution, too prudent to check this great event, if necessary, and too faithful to his countrymen to separate his interests from theirs, he chose the crisis of this alteration, to retire from public affairs. Thus did he opportunely quit the theatre, when new  
pieces

pieces demanded fresh actors, and took his seat among the spectators, content to offer up his wishes for the success of the Drama, and to applaud those who acted well their part. But in the last campaign, chance produced him on the scene, and made him unfortunately famous. He lived at *York*, where he had built a very handsome house, from which neither European taste nor luxury was excluded; a chimney-piece and some bas-reliefs of very fine marble, exquisitely sculptured, were particularly admired, when fate conducted Lord Cornwallis to this town to be disarmed, as well as his till then victorious troops. Secretary Nelson did not think it necessary to fly from the English, to whom his conduct could not have made him disagreeable, nor have furnished any just motive of suspicion. He was well received by the General, who established his head-quarters in his house, which was built on an eminence, near the most important fortifications, and in the most agreeable situation of the town. It was the first object which struck the sight as you approached the town, but instead



stead of travellers, it soon drew the attention of our bombardiers and cannoniers, and was almost entirely destroyed. Mr. Nelson lived in it at the time our batteries tried their first shot and killed one of his negroes at a little distance from him ; so that Lord Cornwallis was soon obliged to seek another asylum. But what asylum could be found for an old man, deprived of the use of his legs by the gout ? But, above all, what asylum could defend him against the cruel anguish a father must feel at being besieged by his own children ; for he had two in the American army. So that every shot, whether fired from the town, or from the trenches, might prove equally fatal to him ; I was witness to the cruel anxiety of one of these young men, when after the flag was sent to demand his father, he kept his eyes fixed upon the gate of the town, by which it was to come out, and seemed to expect his own sentence in the answer. Lord Cornwallis had too much humanity to refuse a request so just, nor can I recollect, without emotion, the moment in which

I saw

I saw this old gentleman alight at General Washington's. He was seated, the fit of the gout not having yet left him; and whilst we stood around him, he related to us, with a serene countenance, what had been the effect of our batteries, and how much his house had suffered from the first shot.

The tranquillity which has succeeded these unhappy times, by giving him leisure to reflect upon his losses, has not embittered the recollection; he lives happily in one of his plantations, where, in less than six hours, he can assemble thirty of his children, grand children, nephews, nieces, &c. amounting in all to seventy, the whole inhabiting Virginia. The rapid increase of his own family justifies what he told me of the population in general, of which, from the offices he has held all his life, he must have it in his power to form a very accurate judgment. In 1742 the people *subject to pay taxes* in the State of Virginia, that is to say, the white males above sixteen, and the male and female blacks of the same age, amounted only to the number of 63,000; by

by his account they now exceed 160,000 \*.

After passing two days very agreeably with this interesting family, we left them the 12th at ten in the morning, accompanied by the Secretary, and five or six other Nelsons, who conducted us to *Little River Bridge*, a small creek on the road about five miles from Offly. There we separated, and having rode about eleven miles further through woods, and over a barren country, we arrived at one o'clock at *Willis's* inn or ordinary; for the inns which in the other provinces of America are known by the name of taverns, or public-houses, are in Virginia called *ordinaries*. This consisted of a little house placed in a solitary situation in the middle of the woods, notwithstanding which we there found a great deal of company. As soon as I alighted, I enquired what might be the reason of this numerous assembly, and was informed it was a *cock-match*. This diversion is much in fashion

\* This calculation is much below that given by other writers, and I have reason to believe that it is considerably below the mark. TRANSLATOR.



fashion in Virginia, where the English customs are more prevalent than in the rest of America. When the principal promoters of this diversion, propose to watch their champions, they take great care to announce it to the public, and although there are neither posts, nor regular conveyances, this important news spreads with such facility that the planters for thirty or forty miles round, attend, some with cocks, but all with money for betting, which is sometimes very considerable. They are obliged to bring their own provisions, as so many people with good appetites could not possibly be supplied with them at the inn. As for lodgings, one large room for the whole company, with a blanket for each individual, is sufficient for such hearty countrymen, who are not more delicate about the conveniencies of life, than the choice of their amusements.

Whilst our horses were feeding, we had an opportunity of seeing a battle. The preparation took up a great deal of time; they arm their cocks with long steel spurs, very sharp, and cut off a part of their feathers,

thers, as if they meant to deprive them of their armour. The stakes were very considerable ; the money of the parties was deposited in the hands of one of the principal persons, and I felt a secret pleasure in observing that it was chiefly French \*. I know

\* The prodigious quantity of French money brought into America by their fleets and armies, and the loans made to Congress, together with the vast return of dollars from the Havannah, and the Spanish, Portugueze and English gold which found its way into the country from the British lines, rendered specie very plentiful towards the conclusion of the war ; and the arrival of the army of the Comte de Rochambeau was particularly opportune, as it happened at the very distressing crisis of the death of the paper currency. The French money alone in circulation in the United States, in the year 1782 was estimated after very accurate calculations, at thirty-five millions of livres, or near a million and a half sterling. Although it is impossible to ascertain with any degree of precision the quantity of British money circulating in the revolted part of the continent, under the forms of Spanish, Portugal, and English coin, yet some general idea may be entertained that the quantity was very considerable, from the following extract from the *seventh report of the commissioners of public accounts*, “ We obtained by requisition from the office of the Paymaster General “ of the forces, an account of the money issued to

know not which is the most astonishing,  
the insipidity of such diversion, or the stu-  
pid

“ Messrs. Hartley and Drummond, pursuant to his  
“ Majesty’s warrants, for the *extraordinary* services  
“ of his Majesty’s forces serving in North America  
“ *from the 1st* of January 1776, to *the 31st of De-*  
“ *cember* 1781. This sum amounts to 10,083,863l.  
“ 2s. 6d.”—There are two ways by which this  
“ money goes from these remitters into the hands  
“ of their agents : the one is by bills drawn by them  
“ on the remitters, which bills they receive the va-  
“ lue for in America, and the remitters discharge  
“ when presented to them in London ; the other is  
“ by sending out *actual cash*, whenever it becomes  
“ necessary to support the exchange, by increasing  
“ the quantity of current cash in the hands of the  
“ agents.”—Now the votes of Parliament will shew  
the reader, the vast sums *annually* granted to Messrs.  
Hartley and Drummond, for the specific purpose of  
purchasing Spanish and Portugal gold alone, to sup-  
ply “ this quantity of current cash.” Besides the  
vast exportation of English guineas ; nor is it to be  
doubted that a great proportion of this supply found  
its way into the heart of the United States, in re-  
turn for provisions, in payment of their captive ar-  
mies, &c. &c. The British navy too is not includ-  
ed in this estimate. Great sums ’tis true returned to  
Britain directly or indirectly for goods, &c. but  
much specie remained incontestably in the country.  
With respect to the Spanish dollars from the Ha-  
vanah and the West Indies, no just calculation can

pid interest with which it animates the parties. This passion appears almost innate amongst the English, for the Virginians are yet English in many respects. Whilst the interested parties animated the cocks to battle, a child of fifteen, who was near me, kept leaping for joy, and crying, Oh! it is a *charming diversion*.

We had yet seven or eight and twenty miles to ride, to the only inn where it was possible to stop, before we reached Mr. Jefferson's; for Mr. de Rochambeau, who had travelled the same road but two months before, cautioned me against sleeping at *Louisa Court-house*, as the worst lodging he had found in all America. This public-house is sixteen miles from Willis's ordinary. As he had given me a very forcible description not only of the house, but of

be formed, but the amount must have been very considerable, as they appeared to me to circulate in the proportion of at least *three* or *four* to *one* of all the other coined specie. — When the Translator added this note, he had not seen *Lord Sheffield's* observations on the subject. In these however, he thinks his lordship discovers *deep prejudices*, mixed with much excellent reasoning and a great deal of truth.

TRANSLATOR.



of the landlord, I had a curiosity to judge of it by my own experience. Under the pretence of enquiring for the road, therefore, I went in, and observed, that there was no other lodging for travellers than the apartment of the landlord. This man, called *Johnson*, is become so monstrously fat, that he cannot move out of his arm-chair. He is a good humoured fellow, whose manners are not very rigid, who loves good cheer, and all sorts of pleasure, insomuch that at the age of fifty he has so augmented his bulk, and diminished his fortune, that by two opposite principles he is near seeing the termination of both; but all this does not in the least affect his gaiety. I found him contented in his arm-chair, which serves him for a bed; for it would be difficult for him to lie down, and impossible to rise. A stool supported his enormous legs, in which were large fissures on each side, a prelude to what must soon happen to his belly. A large ham and a bowl of grog served him for company, like a man resolved to die surrounded by his friends. He called to my

mind, in short, the country spoken of by Rabelais, where the men order their bellies to be hooped to prolong their lives, and especially the Abbé, who having exhausted every possible resource, resolved to finish his days by a great feast, and invited all the neighbourhood to his *bursting*.

The night was already closed in, when we arrived at the house of Colonel *Boswell*, a tall, stout Scotsman, about sixty years of age, and who had been about forty years settled in America, where, under the English government, he was a Colonel of militia. Although he kept a kind of tavern, he appeared but little prepared to receive strangers. It was already late indeed, besides that this road, which leads only to the mountains, is little frequented. He was quietly seated near the fire, by the side of his wife, as old, and almost as tall as himself, whom he distinguished by the epithet of, "honey," which in French corresponds with *mon petit cœur*. These honest people received us cheerfully, and soon called up their servants, who were already gone to bed. Whilst they were preparing supper,

supper, we often heard them call *Rose, Rose*, which at length brought to view the most hideous negress I ever beheld. Our supper was rather scanty, but our breakfast the next morning better; we had ham, butter, fresh eggs, and coffee by way of drink: for the whiskey or corn-spirits we had in the evening, mixt with water, was very bad; besides that we were perfectly reconciled to the American custom of drinking coffee with meat, vegetables or other food.

We set out the next morning at eight o'clock, having learned nothing in this house worthy of remark, except that notwithstanding the hale and robust appearance of Mr. and Mrs. Boswell, not one of fourteen of their children had attained the age of ten years. We were now approaching a chain of mountains of considerable height, called the *South-west mountains*, because they are the first you meet in travelling westward, before you arrive at the chain known in France by the name of the *Apalachians*, and in Virginia by that of the Blue Ridge, North Ridge, and Allegany mountains. As the country was much covered with woods, we

had a view of them but very seldom; and travelled a long time without seeing any habitation, at times greatly perplexed to choose among the different roads, which crossed each other \*. At last we overtook a traveller who preceded us, and served not only as a guide, but by his company helped to abridge our journey. He was an Irishman, † who though but lately arrived

\* The difficulty of finding the road in many parts of America is not to be conceived except by those strangers who have travelled in that country. The roads, which are not through the woods, not being kept in repair, as soon as one is in bad order, another is made in the same manner, that is, merely by felling the trees, and the whole interior parts are so covered, that without a compass it is impossible to have the least idea of the course you are steering. The distances too are so uncertain, as in every country where they are not measured, that no two accounts resemble each other. In the back parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, I have frequently travelled thirty miles for ten, though frequently set right by passengers and negroes; but the great communications between the large towns, through all the well inhabited parts of the continent, are as practicable and easy as in Europe. TRANSLATOR.

† An Irishman, the instant he sets foot on American ground becomes, *ipso facto*, an American; this





in his thigh by a musquet ball; which, though it could never be extracted, had not in the least affected either his health or gaiety. He related his military exploits, and we enquired immediately about the country which he then inhabited. He acquainted us that he was settled in North Carolina, upwards of eighty miles from *Catawbaw*, and were then 300 from the sea. These new establishments are so much the more interesting, as by their distance from all commerce, agriculture is their sole resource; I mean that patriarchal agriculture which consists in producing only what is sufficient for their own consumption, without the hope of either sale or barter. These Colonies therefore must necessarily

subsisted prior to that event, and had a reference only to the oppression of Ireland by her powerful sister, I concluded it to be a temporary illusion, General Washington, Mr. Dickinson and other leading characters are adopted members of this Society, having been initiated by the ceremony of an exterior application of a whole bottle of claret poured upon the head, and a generous libation to liberty and good living, of as many as the votary could carry off,

TRANSLATOR,

cessarily be rendered equal to all their wants. It is easy to conceive that there is soon no deficiency of food, but it is also necessary that their flocks and their fields should furnish them with cloathing, they must manufacture their own wool, and flax, into clothes and linen, they must prepare the hides to make shoes of them, &c. &c. \* as to drink, they are obliged to content themselves with milk and water, until their apple-trees are large enough to bear fruit, or until they have been able to procure themselves stills, to distil their grain.—In these troublesome times we should scarcely imagine in Europe, that nails are the articles the most wanted in these new colonies: for the axe and the saw can supply every other want. They contrive however to erect huts, and construct roofs without nails, but the work is by this means rendered much more tedious, and in such circumstances

\* It is a natural supposition that workmen of all sorts (at least the most necessary) should form a part of every new colony, and follow their particular trade as the most beneficial employment.

TRANSLATOR.

stances every body knows the value of time and labour. It was a natural question to ask such a cultivator what could bring him four hundred miles from home, and we learned from him that he carried on the trade of horse selling, the only commerce of which his country was susceptible, † and by which people in the most easy circumstances endeavoured to augment their fortunes. In fact these animals multiply very fast in a country where there is abundant pasture; and as they are conducted without any expence, by grazing on the road, they become the most commodious article of exportation, for a country so far from any road or commerce. The conversation continued and brought us insensibly to the foot of the mountains. On the summit of one of them we discovered the house of Mr. Jefferson, which stands pre-eminent

in

† Considerable quantities of peltry are likewise brought from the back parts of North Carolina; and I have met with strings of horses laden with that article passing through Virginia to Philadelphia from the distance of six hundred miles.

TRANSLATOR.



in these retirements ; it was himself who built it and preferred this situation ; for although he possessed considerable property in the neighbourhood, there was nothing to prevent him from fixing his residence wherever he thought proper. But it was a debt Nature owed to a philosopher and a man of taste, that in his own possessions he should find a spot, where he might best study and enjoy her. He calls his house *Monticello*, (in Italian, *Little Mountain*) a very modest title, for it is situated upon a very lofty one, but which announces the owner's attachment to the language of Italy; and above all to the fine arts, of which that country was the cradle, and is still the asylum. As I had no further occasion for a guide, I separated from the Irishman ; and after ascending by a tolerably commodious road, for more than half an hour, we arrived at *Monticello*. This house, of which Mr. Jefferson was the architect, and often one of the workmen, is rather elegant, and in the Italian taste, though not without fault ; it consists of one large square pavilion, the entrance of which is by two porticoes

ticoes ornamented with pillars. The ground floor consists chiefly of a very large lofty saloon, which is to be decorated entirely in the antique style: above it is a library of the same form, two small wings, with only a ground floor, and attic story, are joined to this pavilion, and communicate with the kitchen, offices, &c. which will form a kind of basement story over which runs a terrace. My object in this short description is only to shew the difference between this, and the other houses of the country; for we may safely aver, that Mr. Jefferson is the first American who has consulted the fine arts to know how he should shelter himself from the weather. But it is on himself alone I ought to bestow my time. Let me describe to you a man, not yet forty, tall, and with a mild and pleasing countenance, but whose mind and understanding are ample substitutes for every exterior grace. An American, who without ever having quitted his own country, is at once a musician, skilled in drawing; a geometrician, an astronomer, a natural philosopher, legislator, and statesman. A sen-  
tor

tor of America, who sat for two years in that famous Congress which brought about the revolution ; and which is never mentioned without respect, though unhappily not without *regret* : a governor of Virginia, who filled this difficult station during the invasions of *Arnold*, of *Phillips*, and of *Cornwallis* ; a philosopher, in voluntary retirement, from the world, and public business, because he loves the world, inasmuch only as he can flatter himself with being useful to mankind ; and the minds of his countrymen are not yet in a condition either to bear the light, or to suffer contradiction. A mild and amiable wife, charming children, of whose education he himself takes charge, a house to embellish, great provisions to improve, and the arts and sciences to cultivate ; these are what remain to Mr. Jefferson, after having played a principal character on the theatre of the new world, and which he preferred to the honourable commission of Minister Plenipotentiary in Europe,\* The visit which I made him was

\* Mr. Jefferson having since had the misfortune to lose his wife, has at last yielded to the intreaties of

was not unexpected, for he had long since invited me to come and pass a few days with him, in the center of the mountains; notwithstanding which I found his first appearance serious, nay even cold; but before I had been two hours with him we were as intimate as if we had passed our whole lives together; walking, books, but above all, a conversation always varied and interesting, always supported by that sweet satisfaction experienced by two persons, who in communicating their sentiments and opinions, are invariably in unison, and who understand each other at the first hint, made four days pass away like so many minutes.

This

his country, and accepted the place of Minister Plenipotentiary at the court of France, and is now at Paris. It is necessary to observe that Mr. Jefferson, who justly stands in the highest situation in America, was one of the five Ministers Plenipotentiary for concluding a peace in Europe, named by Congress full two years before it took place; Messrs. Franklin, Adams, Laurens, and Jay were the other four.

TRANSLATOR.



This conformity of sentiments and opinions on which I insist, because it constitutes my own eulogium, (and self-love must somewhere shew itself) this conformity, I say, was so perfect, that not only our taste was similar, but our predilections also, those partialities which cold methodical minds ridicule as enthusiastic, whilst sensible and animated ones cherish and adopt the glorious appellation. I recollect with pleasure that as we were conversing one evening over a bowl of punch, after Mrs. Jefferson had retired, our conversation turned on the poems of *Osſian*. It was a spark of electricity which passed rapidly from one to the other; we recollected the passages in those sublime poems, which particularly struck us, and entertained my fellow travellers, who fortunately knew English well, and were qualified to judge of their merit, though they had never read the poems. In our enthusiasm the book was sent for, and placed near the bowl, where, by their mutual aid, the night far advanced  
imperceptibly

imperceptibly upon us. Sometimes natural philosophy, at others politicks or the arts were the topicks of our conversation, for no object had escaped Mr. Jefferson; and it seemed as if from his youth he had placed his mind, as he has done his house, on an elevated situation, from which he might contemplate the universe.

The only stranger who visited us during our stay at Monticello, was Colonel *Armand* whom I have mentioned in my first Journal; he had been in France the preceding year with Colonel *Laurens*, but returned soon enough to be present at the siege of York, where he marched as a volunteer at the attack of the redoubts. His object in going to France, was to purchase cloathing and accoutrements compleat for a regiment, he had already commanded, but which had been so roughly handled in the campaigns to the southward, that it was necessary to form it anew: he made the advance of the necessaries to Congress, who engaged to provide men and horses. *Charlottesville* a rising little town situated in a valley two leagues from Monticello, being the quarter  
assigned

assigned for assembling this legion, Colonel Armand invited me to dine with him the next day, where Mr. Jefferson and I went, and found the legion under arms. It is to be composed of 200 horse and 150 foot. The horse was almost compleat and very well mounted; the infantry was still feeble, but the whole were well clothed, well armed, and made a very good appearance. We dined with Colonel Armand, all the officers of his regiment, and a *wolf* he amuses himself in bringing up, which is now ten months old, and is as familiar, mild, and gay as a young dog; he never quits his master, and has constantly the privilege of sharing his bed. It is to be wished that he may always answer so good an education, and not resume his natural character as he advances to maturity. He is not quite of the same kind with ours, his skin is almost black, and very glossy; he has nothing fierce about the head, so that were it not for his upright ears, and pendent tail, one might readily take him for a dog. Perhaps he owes the singular advantage of not exhaling a bad smell, to the care which is

taken of his toilet; for I remarked that the dogs were not in the least afraid of him, and that when they crossed his trace, they paid no attention to it. But it appears improbable, that all the neatness in the world can deceive the instinct of those animals, which have such a dread of wolves, that they have been observed, in the King's garden at Paris, to raise their coats and howl at the smell only of two mongrels, engendered by a dog and a she-wolf. I am inclined therefore to believe, that this peculiarity belongs to the species of black wolf, for they have our species also in America; and in Europe we may possibly have the black kind, for so it may be conjectured at least from the old proverb: "He is as much afraid of me as of a *grey* wolf," which implies that there are also black ones.

Since I am on the subject of animals, I shall mention here some observations which Mr. Jefferson enabled me to make upon the wild beasts which are common in this country. I have been a long time in doubt whether to call them roebucks, stags, or deer, for in Canada they are known by the



the first name, in the eastern provinces by the second, and in the southern by the third. Besides, in America, their nomenclatures are so inaccurate, and their observations so slight, that no information can be acquired by examining the people of the country. Mr. Jefferson amused himself by raising a score of these animals in his park; they are become very familiar, which happens to all the animals of America; for they are in general much easier to tame than those of Europe. He amuses himself by feeding them with Indian corn, of which they are very fond, and which they eat out of his hand. I followed him one evening into a deep valley, where they are accustomed to assemble towards the close of the day, and saw them walk, run, and bound: but the more I examined their paces, the less I was inclined to annex them to any particular species in Europe; they are absolutely of the same colour as the roebuck, and never change even when they are tamed, which often happens to deer. Their horns, which are never more than a foot and a half long; and have more than four

branches on each side, are more open and broader than those of the roebuck; they take an oblique direction in front; their tails are from eight to ten inches long, and when they leap they carry them almost vertical like the deer; resembling those animals not only in their proportions, but in the form of their heads, which are longer and less frizzled than those of the roebuck. They differ also from that species, as they are never found in pairs. From my own observations, in short, and from all I have been able to collect on the subject, I am convinced that this kind is peculiar to America, and that it may be considered something betwixt the deer and roebuck. \* Mr. Jefferson being no sportsman, and not having crossed the seas, could have no decided opinion on this part of natural history; but he has not neglected the other branches. I saw with pleasure that he had applied himself particularly to meteorological observation,

\* I have been lately assured that when these animals grow old, their horns are as large as those of the stag, but their flesh has certainly the same taste with that of the deer in England.

servation, which, in fact, of all the branches of philosophy, is the most proper for the Americans to cultivate, from the extent of their country, and the variety of their situations, which give them in this point a great advantage over us, who in other respects have so many over them. Mr. Jefferson has made, with Mr. *Maddison*, a well informed professor of mathamatics, some correspondent observations on the reigning winds at *Williamsburgh*, and Monticello; and although these two places are at the distance only of fifty leagues, and not separated by any chain of mountains, the difference of their results was, that for 127 observations on the N.E. wind at Williamsburgh, there were only 32 at Monticello, where the N.W. wind in general supplies the place of the N. E. This latter appears to be a sea-wind, easily counteracted by the slightest obstacle, insomuch that twenty years since it was scarcely ever felt beyond *West-point*; that is to say beyond the conflux of the *Pawmunkey* and the *Matapony*, which unite and form York river, near

thirty-five miles from its mouth.\* Since the progress of population and agriculture has considerably cleared the woods, it penetrates so far as Richmond, which is thirty miles further. It may hence be observed, first, that the winds vary infinitely in their obliquity, and in the height of their region.

\* The rapid changes of the temperature of the air in America, and particularly to the southward, are apt to destroy the best European constitutions. In the middle of the hottest day in July and August, when the heat was so intolerable as almost to prevent respiration, I have frequently known the wind shift suddenly round to the N. W. attended with a blast, so cold and humid as to make it immediately necessary to shut all the doors and windows, and light large fires. It is impossible to conceive any thing more trying for the human body, relaxed and open at every pore, from a continuance of burning heat, than this raw, piercing wind which blows over such immense boundless tracts of lakes and forests; but the melioration of the climate, even from the partial, and comparatively inconsiderable destruction of the woods in many parts of the continent, is so rapid as to be strikingly perceptible even in the course of a very few years; and its salubrity in proportion to the progress of these improvements, will probably approach much nearer to those of Europe under the same latitudes. TRANSLATOR.



region. Secondly, that nothing is more essential than the manner in which we proceed in the clearing of a country, for the salubrity of the air, nay even the order of the seasons, may depend on the access which we allow the winds, and the direction we may give them. It is a generally received opinion at Rome, that the air is less healthy since the felling of a large forest situated between that city and Ostia, which defended it from the winds known in Italy by the names of the *Scirocco* and the *Libico*. It is believed in Spain also, that the excessive droughts, of which the Castilians complain more and more, are occasioned by the cutting down of the woods, which used to attract and break the clouds in their passage. There is yet a very important consideration upon which I thought it my duty to fix the attention of the learned in this country, whatever diffidence I may have of my own knowledge in philosophy, as well as on every other subject. The greatest part of Virginia is very low and flat, and so divided by creeks and great rivers, that it appears absolutely redeemed

from the sea, and an entire new creation; it is consequently very swampy, and can be dried only by the cutting down a great quantity of wood; but as on the other hand it can never be so drained as not still to abound with mephitical exhalations; and of whatever nature these exhalations may be, whether partaking of fixed or inflammable air, it is certain that vegetation absorbs them equally, and that trees are the most proper to accomplish this object. \* It appears equally dangerous either to cut down or to preserve a great quantity of wood; so that the best manner of proceeding to clear the country, would be to disperse the settlements as much as possible, and to leave some groves of trees standing between them. In this manner the ground inhabited would be always healthy; and as there yet remain considerable marshes which they cannot drain, there is no risk of admitting the winds too easily, as they would serve to carry off the exhalations.

But

\* This discovery the world owes to Doctor Franklin.

But I perceive my Journal is something like the conversation I had with Mr. Jefferson; I pass from one object to another, and forget myself as I write, as it happened not unfrequently in his society. I must now quit the Friend of Nature, but not Nature herself, who expects me in all her splendour at the end of my journey; I mean the famous *Bridge of Rocks*, which unites two mountains, the most curious object I ever yet beheld, as its construction is the most difficult of solution. Mr. Jefferson would most willingly have conducted me thither, although this wonder is upwards of eighty miles from him, and he had often seen it; but his wife being expected every moment to lie in, and himself as good a husband, as he is an excellent philosopher and a virtuous citizen, he only acted as my guide for about sixteen miles, to the passage of the little river *Mechum*, where we parted, and I presume, to flatter myself, with mutual regret.

We walked our horses seventeen miles further in the defiles of the western mountains, before we could find a place to bait them;

them ; at last we stopped at a little lonely house, a Mr. *Mac Donnel's*, an Irishman, where we found eggs, bacon, chickens, and whiskey, on which we made an excellent repast. He was an honest, obliging man ; and his wife, who had a very agreeable and mild countenance, had nothing rustic either in her conversation or her manner. For in the center of the woods, and wholly occupied in rustic business, a Virginian never resembles an European peasant : he is always a freeman, participates in the government, and has the command of a few negroes. So that uniting in himself the two distinct qualities of citizen and master, he perfectly resembles the bulk of individuals who formed what were called *the people* in the ancient republics ; a people very different from that of our days, though they are very improperly confounded, in the frivolous declamations of our half philosophers, who, in comparing ancient with modern times, have invariably mistaken the word *people*, for mankind in general ; and believing themselves its defenders, have bestowed their praises on the oppressors of humanity.

How



How many ideas have we still to rectify? How many words, the sense of which is yet vague and indeterminate? The dignity of man has been urged a hundred times, and the expression is universally adopted. Yet after all, the dignity of man is relative; if taken in an individual sense, it is in proportion to the inferior classes; the plebeian constitutes the dignity of the noble, the slave that of the plebeian, and the negro that of his white master. If taken in a general acceptation, it may inspire man with sentiments of tyranny and cruelty, in his relative situation with respect to other animals; destroying thus the general beneficence, by counteracting the orders and the views of Nature. What then is the principle on which Reason, escaped from sophists and rhetoricians, may at last rely? The equality of rights; the general interest which actuates all; private interest, connected with the general good; the order of society; as necessary as the symmetry of a beehive; &c. if all this does not furnish matter for eloquence, we must console ourselves, and prefer genuine morality to that which is fallacious. \*

fallacious. \* We had reason to be contented with that of Mr. Mac Donell ; he presented us with the best he had, did not make us pay too dear, and gave us every instruction necessary to continue our journey ; but not being able to set out until half past four o'clock, and having twelve miles to go before we passed the *Blue Bridges*, we were happy in meeting on the road with an honest traveller, who served us for a guide, and with whom we entered into conversation. He was an inhabitant of the county of *Augusta*, who had served in Carolina

\* The *Marquis de Chastellux* has distinguished himself very honourably in the literary world by several productions, but particularly by his treatise *De la Felicité Publique*, wherein he breathes the generous, enlightened language of philanthropy and freedom. He was chosen a member of the French academy at a very early age, by dint of his own merit, and not by a court mandate, or intrigue, and was, *if I mistake not*, when very young, in correspondence with, and a favourite of, the illustrious Pope *Ganganelli*. He has lately translated into French, Colonel Humphreys's poem, *The Campaign*, mentioned in the notes to the first volume of this work.

TRANSLATOR.

lina as a common *rifleman*†, notwithstanding which, he was well mounted, and appeared much at his ease. In America the militia is composed of all the inhabitants without distinction, and the officers are elected

† The riflemen are a Virginian militia, composed of the inhabitants of the mountains, who are all expert hunters, and make use of rifle guns. Towards the end of the war little use was made of them, as it was found that the difficulty of loading their pieces more than equalled the advantages derived from their exactness. The Americans had great numbers of riflemen in small detachments on the flanks of General Burgoyne's army, many of whom took post on high trees *in the rear of their own line*, and there was seldom a minute's interval of smoke without officers being taken off by single shot. Captain Green of the 31<sup>st</sup> regiment, Aide de Camp to General Philips, was shot through the arm by one of those marksmen as he was delivering a message to General Burgoyne. After the convention, the commanding officer of the riflemen informed General Burgoyne that the shot was meant for him; and as Captain Green was seen to fall from his horse, it was for some hours believed in the American army that General Burgoyne was killed. His escape was owing to the Captain's having laced furniture to his saddle, which made him to be mistaken for the General. General Burgoyne says, in his Narrative, that not an Indian could be brought within the sound of a rifle shot.

TRANSLATOR.

electèd by them without respect either to service or experience. Our fellow-traveller had been at the battle of *Cowpens*, where General *Morgan*, with 800 militia, entirely defeated the famous *Tarleton*, at the head of his legion, a regiment of regular troops, and of different pickets drawn from the army, forming near 1200 men, of whom upwards of 800 were killed or made prisoners \*. This event, the most extraordinary

\* *Lord Cornwallis*, in his answer to *Sir Henry Clinton's* Narrative, published in 1783, gives the following state of his army before the defeat of *Tarleton*, and subsequent to that event, from which we may authenticate the loss of men, and deduce the importance of *Morgan's* victory to America ;

January 15th, 1781, the rank and file of his Lordship's army was,

Guards,	690
7th regiment,	167
16th, three companies,	41
23d regiment,	286
33d regiment,	328
71st, 1st battalion,	249
71st, 2d battalion,	237
71st light company,	69
German regiment of Bose,	347
Yagers,	103

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Carried over 2517



nary of the whole war, had always excited my curiosity. The modesty and simplicity with

Brought over	2517
Tarleton's legion,	451
N. Carolina volunteers,	256
Total before the battle,	<u>3224</u>

February 1st, 1781, after the defeat of Tarleton,

Guards,	690
7th regiment	—
16th,	—
23d,	279
33d,	334
71st, 1st battalion,	—
71st 2d ditto,	234
71st light company,	—
German regiment of Bose,	345
Yagers	97
Tarleton's legion	174
N. Carolina volunteers,	287
Total after the defeat of Tarleton,	<u>2440</u>

Total loss with the detachment of artillery 800 out of 1050 men, the real number of Tarleton's force.

The names of the regiments that have no numbers annexed to them in the last column are those which were totally destroyed, that is, killed, wounded, or taken, in the battle of Cowpens, on the 17th of January, between Morgan and Tarleton. Lord Cornwallis

with which General Morgan gave the account of it, have been generally admired. But one circumstance in this relation had always astonished me. Morgan drew up his troops in order of battle, in an open wood, and divided his riflemen upon the two wings, so as to form, with the line, a kind of *tenaille*, which collected the whole fire, both directly and obliquely, on the center of the English. But after the first discharge, he made so dangerous a movement, that had he commanded the best disciplined troops in the world, I should be  
at

in his Gazette account, immediately after the affair, stated the loss only at 400, but the truth at length appears, when the purposes of misrepresentation are at an end, and the detail becomes necessary to the General's own honour.

Lord Cornwallis in his account of Tarleton's defeat, mentions a very honourable circumstance for the corps of artillery, but which was by no means unexamined by this brave body of men, in several actions in America: he says, "In justice to the detachment of royal artillery, I must here observe that no terrors could induce them to abandon their guns, and they were *all* either killed or wounded in defence of them."

TRANSLATOR.

at a loss to account for it. He ordered the whole line to wheel to the right, and after retreating thirty or forty paces, made them halt, face about, and recommence the fire. I begged this witness, whose deposition could not be suspected, to relate what he had seen, and I found his account perfectly conformable to Morgan's own relation. But as he could assign no reason for this retrograde motion, I enquired if the ground behind the first position was not more elevated and advantageous, but he assured me it was absolutely the same; so that if it was this action which tempted the English (whose attack is not hot, but consists in general of a brisk fire, rather than in closing with the enemy) to break their line, and advance inconsiderately into a kind of focus of shot poured from the center and the wings, it depended on General Morgan alone to have claimed the merit, and to have boasted of one of the boldest stratagems ever employed in the art of war. This is a merit however he never claimed, and the relation of this rifleman leaves no doubt with me, that the General, dreading  
the

the superiority of the English, had at first designed to give up gradually the field of battle, and retreat to covered ground, more advantageous for inferior forces ; but finding himself closely pressed, he had no other resource but to risk every thing and give battle on the spot. Whatever was the motive of this singular manœuvre, the result of it was the defeat of Tarleton, whose troops gave way on all sides, without a possibility of rallying them. Fatigued by a very long march, they were soon overtaken by the American militia, who, assisted by sixty horse under Colonel Washington, made upwards of 500 prisoners, and took two pair of colours and two pieces of cannon.

It is natural to enquire how Tarleton's cavalry were employed during the engagement, and after the defeat ; whilst the infantry were engaged, they endeavoured to turn the flanks of General Morgan's army, but were kept in awe by some riflemen, and by the American horse detached by Colonel Washington, to support them, in two little squadrons. After the battle, they fled



fled full gallop, without ever thinking of the infantry, or taking the least precaution to cover their retreat. As to the English General, God knows what became of him. And this is that Tarleton who with Cornwallis was to finish the conquest of America; who with Cornwallis had received the thanks of the House of Commons, and whom all England admired as the hero of the army and the honour of the nation \*.

In reflecting on the fate of war, let us recollect, that two months after this victory

\* Colonel Tarleton has given so many proofs not only of courage but of great bravery and firmness, that every soldier ought to approve the eulogiums bestowed upon his valour. It were to be wished that he had always made good use of those qualities, and that he had shewn himself as humane and sensible, as brave and determined. The design of these reflections is to shew, how much the English, in this war, have been obliged to swell their successes, and diminish their defeats. The more rare they became, the more they were disposed to solemnize the former. Howe and Burgoyne were disgraced for not conquering America, whilst others have obtained promotion for gaining some trifling advantages.

gained by the militia \* over 1200 veteran troops, General Greene, after having assembled near 5000 men, half militia; half continentals, made choice of an excellent position, and employed all the resources of military art, was beaten by 1800 men, abandoned by his militia †, and forced to limit

\* Earl Cornwallis in his letter in the London Gazette of March 31st, 1781, says that Morgan had with him, “ By the best accounts he could get, about 500 men, Continental and Virginia state troops, 103 cavalry under Colonel Washington, and 6 or 700 militia; but that body is so fluctuating, that it is impossible to ascertain its number *within some hundreds*, for three days following.” This account seems to have been intended to qualify the defeat of Tarleton, who was a great favourite; but the fact is nearly as the Marquis de Chastellux states it, for Morgan had very few continentals with him, and his whole body did not exceed 800 men.

† The *returns* of Lord Cornwallis’s army }  
taken a fortnight before the battle were, } 2213

The returns seventeen days after it, - } 1723

His loss consequently may be stated at about }  
the difference, - - - } 490

Several attempts have been likewise made to prove that General Greene had with him at Guilford an army of 9 or 10,000 men, but Lord Cornwallis himself, in his letter to Lord Rawdon, dated Camp at

limit all his glory to the making the English pay dear for the field of battle, which

F 2

the

Guildford, March 17, 1781, and published in the *London Gazette* of May 10, 1781, expressly says, "General Greene having been *very considerably* reinforced from Virginia by *eight months men and militia*, and having collected *all the militia of this province*, advanced with an army of *about 5, or 6000 men*, and *4 six-pounders*, to this place." From this *unexpected* account we may collect pretty clearly the indifferent composition of General Greene's force, and must render justice to the fairness of the French General's detail which calls them 5000 men, *half militia, half continentals*; and states the conquering army *only* at 1800 men. The Translator hopes the reader will not find these comparisons superfluous, as such scrutinies tend to elucidate the interesting events of an ever memorable revolution, and to enlighten history. General Gates shewed me, at his house in Virginia, a letter from General Greene, wherein he took occasion in the most liberal manner to reconcile him to the unfortunate affair of *Camden*, by a detail of the bad conduct of *the same militia*, at the battle of *Guildford*, the *Eutaws*, &c. He touched upon the matter with a delicacy and candour which did equal honour to his sensibility and judgment. Such a tribute of justice from the officer who had superseded him in his command could not but be highly grateful to General Gates, possessing, as he does, in the most emi-

the rest of his troops defended foot by foot, and yielded with reluctance \*. Our conversation

ment degree, the warlike virtues, a pure disinterested attachment to the cause of freedom, and all the generous susceptibility of an amiable private gentleman. Whilst under a cloud himself, I heard him with admiration uniformly expatiate with all the distressed warmth of public virtue on the successes of other Generals, and instead of jealous repining and disgust, pay his tribute of applause to the merits even of those he could not love, and prognosticate, with confidence, the final success of America. It was with real joy therefore, that I saw his honour vindicated by the deliberate voice of Congress, himself restored to his former rank, and that harmony which never should have been disturbed, renewed between this true patriot and General Washington, under whom I left him second in command at the camp at Verplanks on the North River in October, 1782. TRANSLATOR.

\* Since the Journal was written, the author has had an opportunity of seeing General Morgan; he is a man about fifty, tall, and of a very martial appearance. The services he rendered the state during the war, were very numerous, and his promotion rapid. It is pretended that he was formerly a *carter*, and from the same unacquaintance with the customs and language of the country. Another General is said to have been a *farmer*, because he employed himself in cultivation, and a third to have been a



versation on war and battles brought us to the foot of the *gap*, or, as it is called, the

F 3 neck

*butcher*, because he dealt in cattle. General Morgan was formerly engaged in waggons, undertook the transport of goods sent by land, and often put himself at the head of these little convoys. The Marquis de Ch——, the first time he had an opportunity of seeing him, commanded the French troops in the absence of the Comte de Rochambeau at Philadelphia, during the march from Williamsburgh to Baltimore. The Marquis de Ch—— was then at Colchester, with the first division of the troops, after passing in boats the river which runs near the town. The carriages and artillery had taken another road, to gain an indifferent ford. General Morgan met them when they were engaged in a very narrow passage, and finding the carters did not understand their business, he stopped, and shewed them how they ought to drive. Having put every thing in order, he alighted at the Marquis's, and dined with him. The simplicity of his deportment, and the nobleness of his behaviour, recalled to mind the ancient Gallic and German chiefs, who, when in peace with the Romans, came to visit and offer them assistance. He expressed a great attachment to the French nation, admired our troops, and never ceased looking at them; often repeating, that the greatest pleasure of his life would be, to serve in numerous and brilliant armies. It will easily be conjectured that his host asked him many questions,

neck of *Rock-Fish*, which, in an extent of more than fifty miles is the only passage

particularly respecting the affair of Cowpens. His answer confirmed what the rifleman had said; he owned also very candidly that the retrograde movement he had made, was not premeditated. His troops were intimidated, when the English, with more confidence than order, advanced to the attack: observing them keep their ranks, he suffered them to retreat a hundred paces, and then commanded them to halt and face the enemy, as if the retrograde movement had been really preconcerted \*. Though this account, which is more recent and surer than in the text, might render those reflections useless, it was thought proper to preserve them, because on one hand they are not uninteresting to the soldier, and on the other, they may teach philosophers and critics to suspect those who have written history, above all, those who, like Titus Livius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and all the copious and elegant historians, delight in multiplying and varying the descriptions of battles; or, what is yet more reprehensible, who like Frontin, Pollien, and other

\* General Morgan by thus dexterously availing himself of the circumstances of his very critical position, has perhaps more real merit, than if he had really preconceived the manœuvre which has given him so much fame; a manœuvre, from which, unless justified by a necessity such as his, he had no right to expect success, in the face of a *skilful* enemy; but Tarleton never was a commander.

sage to cross the Blue Ridges, at least in a carriage. We ascended very commodiously, for about two miles; and on arriving at the top of the mountain, were surprised to find a little cottage lately built and inhabited by white people. I enquired of my fellow-traveller what could engage them to settle in so barren and desert a place, he told me they were poor people who expected to get some assistance from passengers.

I expected this answer, and was sorry to find in a new country, where the earth wants inhabitants, and agriculture, hands, white people under the necessity of begging. I stopped a moment to view the wild but uninteresting prospect of the western mountains, from the summit of the Blue Ridges. But as the sun was near setting, I hastened to reach the only inn where

Billingsgate George Hotel and lodgings

other compilers, borrow from historians the events and stratagems of war, which they endeavour to collect.

General Morgan has not served since the affair of Cowpens; he lives in the county of Fairfax and on the estate which he had either purchased or increased, waiting till opportunity shall present him with some command.

lodgings could be had, on the other side of the mountains. Notwithstanding which, I stopped once more, nor had I any reason to regret it. My servant always followed me with a fowling-piece, and as it frequently happened that I was obliged to alight to fire at a partridge, or some other game, our conversation did not prevent me from being always upon the watch. I perceived a large bird which crossed the road, and by the instinct of a sportsman, I concluded it to be what the inhabitants of the mountains call a *pheasant*, but which resembles much more a *woodhen*. To alight, call my dog, and take my gun, was the work of a moment; as I was preparing to follow the *woodhen* among the bushes, one of my servants pointed out to me two others, perched upon a tree behind him, and which looked at me with great tranquillity. I fired at the one nearest to me, nor did it require much address to kill it. Except that it was perhaps a little bigger, it resembled the one I had seen at Newport, where the Americans carry them sometimes to market, in winter, when they descend from



from the mountains, and are more easily killed. This one, before it was plucked, was of the size of a capon ; its plumage on the back and wings resembled that of a hen pheasant, and, on the belly and thighs, the large winter thrush. It was booted like the rough footed pigeon, to its feet, and the plumage of its head formed a kind of aigrette : take it altogether, it is a beautiful bird, and good eating ; but when stripped of its feathers, it was not larger than the redfooted partridge, or bartavelle. After ordering the woodhen I had killed, for supper, I tried to find the first I had seen run into the underwood. I raised it once, and although I ran immediately, and had an excellent dog, it was impossible to find it ; these birds running very fast, like the pheasant and the rayl. The mode which the inhabitants of the mountains make use of to kill them, is to walk in the woods at sun-rising and sun-setting, to attend to the noise they make in beating their sides with their wings, which may be heard above a mile ; they then approach softly, and usually find them sitting upon the trunk of some

old

old tree. It was perhaps lucky that my shooting did not continue with more success; for it was almost night when we arrived at the ford of *South River*, and the waters, considerably augmented by the late rains, were very high. I was proud of fording the famous *Potowmack*, which had taken me an hour in a boat, at the *ferry of Alexandria* \*.

South

\* In travelling from Frederick-Town to Leesburgh, in a single-horse chaise for one person, called in America *a sulky*, the shafts of my carriage broke about a mile from the Potowmack, on the Maryland side, and I was reduced to the necessity, having no servant, of leaving it with all my papers, money, fire-arms, &c. and of mounting my horse in search of assistance. Night was coming on in a most difficult country, to which I was an utter stranger, and not even a negro-hut was to be met with. In these circumstances I approached the Potowmack, on the other side of which I discovered a smoke in the woods, which gave me hopes of its proceeding from a house, but the river was near a mile broad, and my horse barely fourteen hands high. Whilst I was thus standing in suspense, two travellers arrive on horseback and push into the river, a little higher up. I flew to follow them, but scarcely had they advanced one hundred yards before they returned, declaring it not fordable, and,

South river in fact is only a branch of the Potowmack, the source of which is in the

to add to my distress, they assured me that I was at a great distance from any house on that side, but, on the other, I should find an ordinary kept by a Scotsman. They excused themselves from assisting me on the plea of urgent business, and left me with the consoling assurance that the river might possibly be fordable, though they who were inhabitants of the country, did not chuse to venture it. Perceiving the bottom of a good gravel, and free from rocks, I attempted the passage as soon as they left me, and in about twenty dangerous and irksome minutes reached the other side, where I obtained the cheerful aid of two native negroes at the Scotsman's hut, for it was no better, and recrossing the river, went in search of my broken carriage, which we found in security. It was ten o'clock before I passed the river a third time, always up to my waist, and reached my quarters for the night, where at least I met with as hospitable a reception as the house afforded; but the consequence of this adventure, wherein I was successively wet and dry three times, in the hot month of July, was a fever and ague which tormented me for five months. At Alexandria, about fifty miles lower down, the Potowmack rolls its majestic stream with sublimity and grandeur, sixty gun ships may lie before the town, which stands upon its lofty banks, commanding, to a great extent,

the mountains, and like all other rivers is humble in its rise; but it may be looked upon as the proudest of its branches, as at the distance of thirty leagues, it is above a mile broad, and resembles more an arm of the sea, than a river. Two hundred paces from the ford, but more than forty miles from the place from which I set out, I found the inn which Mr. Jefferson had described to me; it was one of the worst in all America. Mrs. Teaze, the mistress of the house, was some time since left a widow; she appears also to be in fact the widow of her furniture, for surely never was house so badly furnished. A solitary tin vessel was the only bowl for the family, the servants and ourselves; I dare not say for what other use it was proposed to us on our going to bed \*. As we were four masters, without

the flatter shore of Maryland. This town, which stands above 200 miles from the sea, is rapidly on the increase, and from the lavish prodigality of Nature, cannot fail of becoming one of the first cities of the new world. TRANSLATOR.

\* The Marquis's distress on this occasion, reminds me naturally of a similar, but still worse situation in



without reckoning the rifleman, who had followed us, and whom I had engaged to supper, the hostess and the family were obliged to resign to us their beds. But at the moment we were inclined to make use of them, a tall young man entering the chamber, where we were assembled, opened a closet, and took out of it a little bottle. I enquired what it was ; it is, said he, something which the Doctor in the neighbourhood has ordered me to take every day. And for what complaint, said I ? Oh ! not much, he replied, only a *little itch*. I own  
his

which I found myself on my return from America towards the end of the war, with four officers of the army of the Comte de Rochambeau. Our captain being obliged suddenly to take advantage of one of those violent north westers which blow in December, to get clear of the coast, beset with New-York Privateers, forgot all his crockery ware, so that in default of plates, mugs, &c. we were obliged, during a winter's voyage of seven weeks, to apply two tin jugs we had purchased to drink our cyder, to every use ; and, in spite of my representations, even to some purposes I am unwilling to repeat ; for in bad weather, these excellent *land-officers* could not be prevailed upon to look on deck.

TRANSLATOR.

his confession was ingenuous, but I was by no means sorry that I had sheets in my portmanteau. It may easily be imagined we were not tempted to breakfast in this house. We set out therefore very early on the 18th, in hopes (as we had been told) that we should find a better inn, at the distance of ten miles, but those hopes were vain. Mr. *Smith*, a poor planter, to whom we were recommended, had neither forage for our horses, nor any thing for ourselves. He only assured us, that eight miles further we should find a mill, the proprietor of which kept a public-house, and we found accordingly the mill and the miller. He was a young man, twenty-two years of age, whose charming face, fine teeth, red lips, and rosy cheeks, recalled to mind the pleasing portrait which Marmontel gives of *Lubin*. His walk and carriage did not however correspond with the freshness of his looks, for he appeared sluggish and inactive. I enquired the reason, and he told me he had been in a languishing state ever since the battle of *Guildford*, in which he had received fifteen or sixteen wounds with a hanger.

He

He had not, like the Romans, a crown to attest his valour; nor, like the French, either pension or certificate of honour; instead of them, he had a piece of his skull, which his wife brought to shew me. I certainly little thought of finding, amidst the solitudes of America, such lamentable traces of European steel; but I was the most touched to learn, that it was after he had received his first wound, and was made prisoner, that he had been thus cruelly treated. This unhappy young man acquainted me, that overcome with wounds, and wallowing in his blood, he yet retained his presence of mind, and imagining his cruel enemies would not leave existing a single witness or victim of their barbarity, there remained no other way of saving his life, than by appearing as if he had lost it.

The all-seeing eye of Divine Justice alone can discover and make known the authors of such a crime; but, if discovered—Oh! for the voice of a Stentor and the trumpet of Fame, to devote the vile perpetrators to present and future horror! And to announce to all sovereigns, generals and chiefs, that the  
enormities

enormities which they tolerate, or leave unpunished, will accumulate upon their heads, and, at some future time, render them the execration of a posterity still more sensible, and more enlightened than we yet are!

Even if Mr. *Steel*, our landlord, had been more active, and his wife, who was young and handsome, more industrious, they could not have supplied the total want in which they then were, of bread, and of every thing to drink; the bread was just kneaded, but not yet put into the oven; and as for liquors, the house made use of none; the same stream which turned the mill, was the only cellar of the young couple, so that we might apply to Mrs. Steel those verses of *Guarini*,

*Quel fonte on d'ella beve*

*Quel solo aneo la bagna, e la consiglia.*

But these pastoral manners are but ill suited to travellers. A few cakes, however, baked upon the cinders, excellent butter, good milk, and above all, the interest with which Mr. *Steel* inspired us, made us pass agreeably the time which was necessary to put our horses in a condition to perform a



long and difficult day's journey. About five o'clock in the evening, after we had travelled thirty-eight miles, we found some houses, where we learned that we were yet six miles from *Praxton's Tavern*, where we intended to sleep; that we had two fords to pass, the last of which was impracticable on account of the late rains; but that we should not be stopped, as we should find a canoe to take us across, and our horses would swim behind. The night, and a black storm which was brewing, made us hasten our steps. Notwithstanding which, we were obliged to mount and descend a very high mountain; scarcely was there remaining the least twilight when we arrived at the second river, which is as large as James's, but near its source, and at a place where it descends from the mountains under the name of the *Fluvanna*. The difficulty was to pass ten men and as many horses with the help of a single canoe, such as is made use of by the savages, which at most could contain only four or five persons and a single negroe, armed with a paddle instead of an oar. We put into the canoe

our saddles and baggage, and made several trips, at each of which two horses were swam across, held by the bridle. It was night, and very dark before this business was finished. But after we had, not without great trouble, resaddled and reloaded our horses, the difficulty was to reach the inn, which was half a mile from the place where we landed; for the river flows between two precipices, and as the canoe could not land us at the ford, nor consequently at the road, we were obliged to climb up the mountain, by a path but little used, and very difficult even by daylight; nor should we ever have found our way had I not engaged the waterman to conduct us. We clambered up as well as we could, every one leading his horse through the trees and branches, which we could not perceive, from the obscurity of the night, until they struck us on the face. At last we arrived at Praxton's tavern; but it was ten o'clock, and the house already shut up, or more properly the houses, for there are two. I approached the first that offered, and knocked at the door, which they opened,

opened, and we saw five or six little negroes lying upon a mat before a large fire. We then went to the other, and there found five or six white children lying in the same manner; two or three grown up negroes presided over each of these little troops \*. They told us that Mr. Praxton, his wife, and all his family, were invited to a wedding, but not far off, and that they would go and fetch them. As for us, we were invited to supper by a very voracious appetite, after a long journey and a great deal of fatigue, and were very differently situated from the new married couple and their

G 2 ~~company~~ company,

\* It was a singular sight for an European to behold the situation of the negroes in the southern provinces during the war, when cloathing was extremely scarce. I have frequently seen in Virginia, on visits to gentlemen's houses, young negroes and negroesses running about or basking in the court-yard naked as they came into the world, with well characterized marks of perfect puberty; and young negroes from sixteen to twenty years old, with not an article of cloathing, but a loose shirt, descending half way down their thighs, waiting at table where were ladies, without any apparent embarrassment on one side, or the slightest attempt at concealment on the other.

TRANSLATOR.

company, and had no small apprehensions of seeing our host and hostess return completely drunk. But in this we were deceived; they arrived perfectly sober, were polite and desirous to please, and a little after midnight we had an excellent supper. Though the apartments and beds were not exactly what we wished, they were better than at Mrs. Teaze's, and we had no right to complain. Besides, we enjoyed the satisfaction of having accomplished the object of our journey; for the *Natural Bridge* was not above eight miles off, and we had obtained every information necessary to find the road. The next morning our breakfast was ready betimes, and served by the daughters of Captain Praxton; they had not appeared to advantage the preceding evening, notwithstanding which, so far as the obscurity of the room we supped in, our appetites, and the immense caps in which they were muffled up for the marriage, had permitted us to judge of them, we thought them tolerably handsome; but when we saw them by day-light, with their hair only turned up, without any other



other head-dress, the repose of the night their sole ornament, and for every grace, their natural simplicity, we were confirmed in the opinion we had already formed, that the people of the mountains are, in general, handsomer and healthier than those on the sea coast \*. There was in the house a young man also, tolerably well dressed, and of an agreeable countenance, whom I concluded to be an intended match for one of our young hostesses. But I soon discovered that he was come for matches of another kind. In fact, one of my fellow-travellers inviting me to go and see a very fine horse, which stood alone in a little stable, I was informed it was a stallion, which this young man had brought upwards of eighty miles, to dispose of his favours to the mares

G 3 of

\* The South Carolina gentlemen with whom I was acquainted, assured me, that the inhabitants of the back parts of that State, which is one of the most unhealthy on the continent, are a vigorous and beautiful race of people, and possess all that hale ruddiness which characterizes the natives of northern climates.

TRANSLATOR.

of the country \*. His price was twenty shillings Virginia currency †, or eighteen livres of our money, (about fifteen shillings sterling) for each visit, or the double if the connection was of longer duration : which is much less than is paid in the other parts of Virginia. These details, which  
may

\* Great attention is paid to the breed of blood horses to the southward, and particularly in Virginia, and many second rate race horses are annually sent from England to serve as stallions. There were two or three in the stables of one *Bates* near Philadelphia, which I had seen win plates in England. This *Bates* is a native of Morpeth in Northumberland, and went to America before the war to display feats of horsemanship, but he had the good fortune to marry a widow possessed of five hundred pounds a year, and is now master of a most beautiful villa on the banks of the Delaware, four or five miles from Philadelphia; still following however the occupation of breeding and selling horses, and keeping stallions, for there are no resources for idleness in that country. TRANSLATOR.

† The difference of currency is one of the most puzzling and disagreeable circumstances for a stranger in America, the value of *the pound* varying in every State ; an inconvenience which existed under the British government, and I am afraid, is still likely to subsist. TRANSLATOR.

may appear trifling, will however serve to make the reader acquainted with a country, the inhabitants of which, dispersed in the woods, are separated only for the purposes of domestic comfort, which renders them independent of each other, but who readily communicate for the general interest, or their mutual wants. But I am too near the Natural Bridge to stop at other objects. We set out at nine o'clock in the morning, and to say the truth, rather heedlessly; for in these mountains, where there are either too many or too few roads, people always think they have given sufficient directions to travellers, who seldom fail to go astray. This is the common fault of those who instruct others in what they themselves are well acquainted with, nor are the roads to science exempt from this inconvenience. After riding about two miles however, we luckily met a man who had just got his horse shod, at a neighbouring forge, and was returning home followed by two or three couple of hounds \*. We soon entered in-

to

\* Stopping one day at a smith's shop near *Winchester*, in the interior of Virginia, I found one of the work-

to conversation with him, and what seldom happens in America, he was curious to know who I was, and whither I was going\*. My quality of a General Officer in the

men to be a Scotch Highlander in his Galic dress, and soon saw several more returning from harvest, these men had been soldiers, and were then prisoners, but they were all peaceable, industrious labourers, and I could not find that any of them thought of returning to the barren hills of Caledonia. General Gates had several of them in his employ, and they were dispersed over the whole country, where they appeared compleatly naturalized and happy. I afterwards saw many of them working at mills, and as quarry-men on the picturesque banks of that sublime river the Susquehannah, a circumstance which transported my imagination to the well known borders of the Tay, and of Loch Lomond. TRANSLATOR.

\* I am apt to think that the experience of every person who has visited North America, as well as my own country, will rise in judgment against this observation of the Author; for my part, were I searching for a general characteristic of that part of the Continent, I should not scruple to distinguish it, κατ' ἐξοχήν, by the name of *the country of the curious*. Wherever you bend your course, to whomsoever you address yourself, you are indispensibly subject to a good humoured, inoffensive, but *mighty* troublesome inquisition. Do you enquire your road? you are answered by a question, "I suppose you



the French service, and the desire I expressed of seeing the wonders of his country,  
inspiring

come from the Eastward, don't you?" Oppressed with fatigue, hunger, and thirst, and drenched perhaps with rain, you answer shortly in the affirmative, and repeat your enquiry—"Methinks you are in a mighty haste—What news is there to the Eastward?" The only satisfaction you can obtain till you have opened your real, or pretended budget of news, and gratified the demander's curiosity. At an inn, the scrutiny is more minute; your name, quality, the place of your departure, and object of your journey, must all be declared to the good family in some way or other, (for their credulity is equal to their curiosity) before you can sit down in comfort to the necessary refreshment. This curious spirit is intolerable in the Eastern States, and I have heard Dr. Franklin, who is himself a Bostonian, frequently relate with great pleasantry, that in travelling when he was young, the first step he took for his tranquillity, and to obtain immediate attention at the inns, was to anticipate enquiry, by saying, "My name is Benjamin Franklin, I was born at Boston, am a printer by profession, am travelling to Philadelphia, shall return at such a time, and have no news—Now what can you give me for dinner?" The only cause which can be assigned for the Author's error in this respect is the state in which he travelled, his being a foreigner, and the facility of obtaining information from the persons of his residence.

TRANSLATOR.

inspiring him with a kind of affection for me, he offered to be our conductor, leading us sometimes through little paths, at others through woods, but continually climbing or descending mountains, so that without a guide, nothing short of witchcraft could have enabled us to find the road. Having thus travelled for two hours, we at last descended a steep declivity, and then mounted another; during which time he endeavoured to render the conversation more interesting. At last, pushing his horse on briskly, and stopping suddenly, he said to me, "You desire to see the *Natural Bridge*, don't you Sir? You are now upon it, alight and go twenty steps either to the right or left, and you will see this prodigy." I had perceived that there was on each side a considerable deep hollow, but the trees had prevented me from forming any judgment, or paying much attention to it.—Approaching the precipice, I saw at first two great masses or chains of rocks, which formed the bottom of a ravin, or rather of an immense abyss; but placing myself, not without precaution, upon the brink of the precipice,

precipice, I saw that these two buttresses were joined under my feet, forming a vault, of which I could yet form no idea, but of its height. After enjoying this magnificent but tremendous spectacle, which many persons could not bear to look at, I went to the western side, the aspect of which was not less imposing, but more picturesque. This *Thebais*, these ancient pines, these enormous masses of rocks, so much the more astonishing as they appear to possess a wild symmetry, and rudely to concur, as it were, in forming a certain design; all this apparatus of rude and shapeless Nature, which Art attempts in vain, attacks at once the senses and the thoughts, and excites a gloomy and melancholy admiration. But it is at the foot of these rocks, on the edge of a little stream which flows under this immense arch, that we must judge of its astonishing structure; there we discover its immense spurs, its back-bendings, and those profiles which architecture might have given it. The arch is not compleat, the eastern part of it not being so large as the western, because the  
mountain

mountain is more elevated on this than on the opposite side. It is very extraordinary that at the bottom of the stream there appear no considerable ruins, no trace of any violent laceration, which could have destroyed the kernel of the rock, and have left the upper part alone subsisting; for that is the only hypothesis that can account for such a prodigy. We can have no possible recourse either to a volcano or a deluge, no trace of a sudden conflagration, or of a slow and tedious undermining by the water.

The rock is of the calcareous kind, and its different strata are horizontal; a circumstance which excludes even the idea of an earthquake, or subterraneous cavern. It is not, in short, for a small number of travellers to give a decided opinion for the public on this phenomenon of Nature. It belongs to the learned of both worlds to judge of it, and they will now be enabled to attempt the discussion. The necessary steps are taken to render it as public as its singularity deserves; an officer of the engineers, the Baron de Turpin, an excellent mathematician and an accurate draughtsman,



man, is gone to take the principal aspects and dimensions. His labours will supply the deficiency of my description\*. Though unacquainted with the powers of Nature, we may at least have some idea of our own. I shall therefore leave to more able hands the care of finishing this picture, of which I have given only an imperfect sketch, and continue the relation of our journey, which, though the principal object be already accomplished, is not near being terminated, for the *Natural Bridge* is more than 250 miles from Williamsburgh.

Whilst I was examining on all sides, and endeavouring to take some drawings, my fellow-travellers had learned from our conductor that he kept a public-house, about seven or eight miles from the place where we were, and not more than two from the road which must be taken next day to leave the mountains. Mr. *Grisby*, (the name of our guide) had expressed his wishes to receive us, assuring us we should be as well as at the tavern recommended by Mr.

\* See at the end of this Journal the description and the plans.

Mr. Praxton ; but had this been otherwise, we had too many obligations to Mr. Grisby not to give him the preference. We renewed our journey therefore, under his guidance, through the woods, which were very lofty ; strong robust oaks, and immense pines sufficient for all the fleets of Europe, here grow old, and perish on their native soil ; from which they have never yet been drawn even by the hand of industry \*. One is surprized to find every where in these immense forests, the traces of conflagrations. These accidents are sometimes occasioned by the imprudence of travellers, who light a fire when they go to sleep and neglect

\* The quality of the American oak is found by repeated experience to be by no means equal to, or so durable as that of Britain. A general survey of the American woods was taken by order of the government of England, previous to the war, and the different qualities ascertained by the surveyors, who, on their general report, gave the preference to the southern oak on the Apalachians, and in the interior of Georgia and Florida ; but in the English yards, even the Dantzick plank, which grows in Silesia, and that of Stettin is still preferred to the American.

neglect afterwards to extinguish it. Little attention is paid them when the woods alone are the victims, but as there are always some cultivated parts, the fire often reaches the fences, by which the fields are furrounded, and sometimes the houses themselves, which is inevitable ruin to the cultivators.

I recollect that during my stay at Monticello, from which one may discover an extent of thirty or forty leagues of wood, I saw several conflagrations three or four leagues distant from each other, which continued burning until a heavy rain fell luckily and extinguished them †. We arrived  
at

† Conflagrations which take their rise in this manner, sometimes spread to a prodigious extent in America, in the morasses, as well as in the woods; in travelling from Easton on the Delaware over the *Musconetung* mountains in the Upper Jersey, in 1782, I saw immense tracts of country lying in ashes from one of these accidental fires; and, during the same summer, Philadelphia was sometimes covered with smoke, from a vast morass which had taken fire in the Jerseys, and kept burning to a great depth from the surface, and for an extent of many miles around, for several months; the progress of which

at Mr. Grisby's a little before five o'clock, having met with nothing on the road but a wild turkey, which rose so far off, that it was impossible to find it again. The house was not large, but neat and commodious; we found it already taken up by other travellers, to whom we assuredly owed every token of respect, if pre-eminence betwixt travellers were to be measured by the length of their respective journies.

The other guests were a healthy good humoured young man of eight and twenty, who set out from Philadelphia with a pretty wife of twenty, and a little child in her arms, to settle 500 miles beyond the mountains, in a country lately inhabited, bordering on the *Ohio*, called the country of *Kentucket*. His whole retinue was a horse, which carried his wife and child. We were astonished at the easy manner with which he proceeded on his expedition, and took the liberty of mentioning our surprize to him. He told

us

could not be stopped by the large trenches dug by the labour of the whole country, nor until it was extinguished by the autumnal rains.

TRANSLATOR.



us that the purchase of good land in Pennsylvania was very extravagant, that provisions were too dear, and the inhabitants too numerous, in consequence of which he thought it more beneficial to purchase for about fifty guineas the grant of a thousand acres of land in *Kentucket*. This territory had been formerly given to a Colonel of militia, until the King of England thought proper to order the distribution of those immense countries; part of which was sold, and the other reserved to recompence the American troops who had served in Canada\*.

\* The Author means the foldiers who served in Canada against the French in the war before the last. *Kentucket* is at present peopled by above fifty thousand settlers, and is on the point of being admitted into the union, as an independent state. *Kentucket* is a settlement on the creek, or rather river of that name, which falls into the Ohio, and is  $627\frac{3}{4}$  miles distant from Fort Pitt; but is extending in every direction over a tract of the finest and most fertile country in the world; and as it is from the interior settlements of this vast country, that America will derive her future greatness, and establish new empires to rival, and perhaps out-do the antient world, I hope I shall be pardoned for

But, said I, where are the cattle? The implements of husbandry with which you must

transcribing the following short but interesting account of the banks of the Ohio from Captain *Hutchins's* Topographical Description of that country, accompanying his Maps—"The lands upon the *Ohio*,  
 "and its branches, are differently timbered according to their quality and situation. The high and  
 "dry lands are covered with *red, white, and black*  
 "oak, *hickory, walnut, red and white mulberry*, and  
 "ash trees, grape vines, &c. The low and meadow lands are filled with *sycamore, poplar, red and*  
 "white mulberry, *cherry, beech, elm, aspen, maple*, or  
 "sugar trees, *grape vines*, &c. And below, or southwardly of the *Rapids*, are several large *cedar* and  
 "cypress swamps, where the cedar and cypress-trees grow to a remarkable size, and where also is great  
 "abundance of canes, such as grow in South Carolina.  
 "There is a great variety of game, viz. buffaloes, bear, deer, &c. as well as *ducks, geese, swans, turkies, pheasants, partridges*, &c. which abound in every part of  
 "this country. The *Ohio*, and the rivers emptying into it, afford green, and other turtle, and fish of  
 "various sorts; particularly *carp, sturgeon, perch* and *catfish*; the two latter of an uncommon size; viz. perch from eight to twelve pounds weight, and  
 "catfish from fifty to one hundred pounds weight.  
 "The country on both sides of the *Ohio*, extending south-easterly and south-westerly from *Fort Pitt* to the *Mississippi*, and watered by the *Ohio* river and its branches, contains at least A MILLION OF

must begin to clear the land you have purchased?—In the country itself, replied he.

H 2

I carry

“SQUARE MILES; and it may with truth be affirmed, that no part of the globe is blessed with a more healthful air or climate; watered with more navigable rivers, and branches communicating with the *Atlantic* ocean, by the rivers *Potowmack*, *James*, *Rapahannock*, *Mississippi*, and *St. Lawrence*; or capable of producing, with less labour and expence, *wheat*, *Indian corn*, *buck wheat*, *rye*, *oats*, *barley*, *flax*, *hemp*, *tobacco*, *rice*, *silk*, *pot-ash*, &c. than the country under consideration; and it may be added, that no soil can yield larger crops of *red* and *white clover*, and other useful grasses, than this does.”—Colonel GORDON, in his *Journal*, gives the following description of this soil and climate: “The country on the *Ohio*, &c. is every where pleasant, with large level spots of rich land, remarkably healthy. One general remark of this nature may serve for the whole tract comprehended between the western skirts of the *Allegheny* mountains, beginning at *Fort Ligonier*, thence bearing south-westerly to the distance of 500 miles opposite to the *Ohio* falls, then crossing them northerly to the heads of the rivers that empty themselves into the *Ohio*; thence east along the ridge that separates the lakes and *Ohio*’s streams to *French Creek*, which is opposite to the abovementioned *Fort Ligonier* northerly. This country may, from a proper know-

I carry nothing with me, but I have money in my pocket, and shall want for nothing.

I began

“Iedge, be affirmed to be the most healthy, the  
 “most pleasant, the most commodious, and most  
 “fertile spot of earth *known to European people.*”  
 To which may be added the following extract of a  
 letter addressed to the Earl of Hillsborough, in the  
 year 1772, then Secretary of State for the North  
 American department.

“No part of North America will require less en-  
 “couragement for the production of *naval stores,*  
 “and *raw materials* for manufactures in Europe,  
 “and for supplying the West-India islands with  
 “*lumber, provisions, &c.* than the country of the Ohio,  
 “and for the following reasons: First, the lands  
 “are excellent, the climate temperate, the native  
 “grapes, *silk-worms* and *mulberry-trees* abound every  
 “where; *hemp, hops,* and *rye* grow spontaneously in  
 “the vallies and low-lands; *lead* and *iron ore,*  
 “*coal* also, are plenty in the hills; salt and fresh  
 “springs are innumerable; and no soil is bet-  
 “ter adapted to the culture of tobacco, flax and  
 “*cotton* than that of the Ohio. Secondly, the  
 “country is well watered by several *navigable rivers*  
 “communicating with each other; by which, and  
 “a short land carriage, the produce of the lands of  
 “the Ohio can *even now* (in the year 1772) be sent  
 “cheaper to the seaport town of *Alexandria,* on  
 “the Potowmack in Virginia, than any kind of mer-  
 “chandize is sent from *Northampton* to London.



I began to relish the resolution of this young man, who was active, vigorous, and free

H 3 from

“ Thirdly, the Ohio is, at *all seasons* of the year, navigable with large boats like the *west-country barges*, rowed only by four or five men; and from the month of February to April, large ships may be built on the Ohio, and sent to *sea* laden with hemp, iron, flax, silk, rice, tobacco, cotton, pot-ashes, &c. Fourthly, corn, beef, ship-plank, and other useful articles can be sent *down the stream of Ohio* to West Florida, and from thence to the West-Indies, much *cheaper*, and in better order than from *New-York* or Philadelphia. Fifthly, hemp, tobacco, iron, and such bulky articles may also be sent *down the Ohio* to the sea, at least 50 per cent. *cheaper* than these articles were ever carried by a land carriage of only sixty miles in Pennsylvania, where waggonage is cheaper than in any other part of North America. Sixthly, the expence of transporting *European manufactures from the sea to the Ohio*, will not be so much as is now paid, and must ever be paid, to a great part of the counties of *Pensylvania, Virginia, and Maryland*, as there is scarce a place between *Fort Pitt* and the *Rapids*, a distance of 705 computed miles, where good roads may not be made, on the banks, which are *not liable to crumble away*, and horses employed in drawing up large barges, as is done on the margin of the *Thames* in *England*, and the *Seine* in *France*, against a

from care ; but the pretty woman, twenty years of age only, I doubted not but she was in

“ stream remarkably gentle, except in high freshes.  
 “ Whenever the *farmers* or merchants of *Ohio*  
 “ shall properly understand the business of transpor-  
 “ tation, they will build schooners, sloops, &c. on  
 “ the *Ohio*, suitable for the *West-India* or *European*  
 “ markets ; or by having black walnut, cherry-tree,  
 “ oak, &c. properly sawed for foreign markets, and  
 “ formed into *rafts*, as is now practised by the set-  
 “ tlers near the upper parts of the Delaware river,  
 “ and thereon stow their hemp, tobacco, &c. and  
 “ proceed with them to *New Orleans*. It may not  
 “ be amiss perhaps, to observe, that large quanti-  
 “ ties of flour are made in the distant (*western*)  
 “ counties of Pennsylvania, and sent by an expen-  
 “ sive land carriage to the city of Philadelphia, and  
 “ from thence shipped to South Carolina, and to  
 “ East and West Florida, there being little or no  
 “ wheat raised in these provinces. The river *Ohio*  
 “ seems kindly designed by Nature as the channel  
 “ through which the two *Floridas* may be supplied  
 “ with flour, not only for their own consump-  
 “ tion, but for the carrying on an extensive com-  
 “ merce with *Jamaica*, (the *Floridas* were then in  
 “ the possession of England) and the *Spanish* set-  
 “ tlements in the *Bay of Mexico*. *Millstones* in  
 “ abundance are to be obtained in the hills near the  
 “ *Ohio*, and the country is every where well wa-  
 “ tered with large, and constant springs, and

in despair at the sacrifice she had made; and I endeavoured to discover, in her features and looks,

“ streams for grist and other mills. The passage  
 “ from Philadelphia to Pensacola, is seldom made  
 “ in less than a month, and sixty shillings sterling  
 “ per *ton* freight (consisting of sixteen barrels) is  
 “ usually paid for flour, &c. thither. Boats car-  
 “ rying from 800 to 1000 barrels of flour may go  
 “ in about the same time from the Ohio (even  
 “ from *Pittsburgh*) as from Philadelphia to Penfa-  
 “ cola, and for half the above freight; the *Ohio* mer-  
 “ chants would be able to deliver flour, &c. there  
 “ in much better order than from Philadelphia, and  
 “ without incurring the damage and delay of the  
 “ sea, the charges of insurance, and risk in time  
 “ of war, &c. or from thence to Pensacola. This  
 “ is not mere speculation; for it is a fact, that  
 “ about the year 1746, there was a great scarcity  
 “ of provisions at *New Orleans*; and the *French*  
 “ settlements at the *Illinois*, small as they then were,  
 “ sent thither, in one winter, upwards of eight  
 “ hundred thousand weight of flour.” Mr. *Lewis*  
*Evans*, in the Analysis to his Map of the Middle  
 Colonies of North America, in the year 1755, says,  
 that “ Vessels from 100 to 200 tons burthen, by  
 “ taking advantage of the spring floods, may go  
 “ from *Pittsburgh* to the sea with safety, as then the  
 “ falls, rifts, and shoals are covered to an equality  
 “ with the rest of the river.” To which Captain  
*Hutchins*, the present Geographer General to the United  
*States*, adds, “ And though the distance is upwards

looks the secret sentiments of her soul. Though she had retired into a little chamber, to make room for us, she frequently came into that where we were; and I saw, not without astonishment, that her natural charms were even embellished by the serenity of her mind. She often caressed her husband and her child, and appeared to me admirably disposed to fulfil the first object of every infant colony—"to increase and multiply." Whilst supper was preparing, and we were talking of travels, and examining on the map the road our emigrants were to follow, I recollected that we had as yet an hour's day light, and that it was just the time I had seen the woodhens, of which, they assured me, there was plenty in the neighbourhood, and that there is a critical moment

"of *two thousand miles* from *Fort Pitt* to the sea,  
 "yet as there are *no obstructions* to prevent vessels  
 "from proceeding both day and night, I am per-  
 "suaded that this extraordinary inland voyage  
 "may be performed, during the season of the floods,  
 "by rowing, in *sixteen or seventeen days*."——

Here surely is a rational and ample field for the well regulated imagination of the philosopher and politician !!!

TRANSLATOR.



moment in hunting as well as love. I took my fowling-piece, therefore, and proceeded to the woods; but instead of wood-hens, I found only a rabbit, which I wounded, but it rolled down into a bottom, where I lost sight of it, till it was discovered by Mr. Grisby's dogs, which, accustomed to the report of a gun, found it in a hollow tree, to the top of which it would have scrambled had its leg not been broken. The rabbits of America differ from those of Europe; they do not burrow, but take refuge in hollow trees, which they climb like cats, and often to a very considerable height. Content with my victory, I returned to the house, but stopped some time to hear, at sunset, two thrushes, which seemed to challenge each other to the song, like the shepherds of Theocritus. This bird ought, in my opinion, to be considered as the nightingale of America; it resembles those of Europe in its form, colour, and habits; but is twice as large. Its song is similar to that of our thrush, but so varied and so much more perfect, that, if we except the uniform plaintive notes of the European  
night-

nightingale, they might be taken for each other. It is a bird of passage, like the mocking-bird, and like it, also, sometimes remains through the winter.

At my return to the house, supper was the sole object; about which Mr. and Mrs. Grisby took great pains, whilst their daughters, about sixteen or seventeen, who were perfect beauties, were laying the cloth. I asked Mr. Grisby to sup with us, but he excused himself, by assuring us that he was yet employed in our service; nor was his attention useless, for we had an excellent supper; and though whisky was our only drink, we contrived to convert it into tolerable toddy. Breakfast was ready betimes the next morning, and corresponded with our supper. Mr. Grisby, who had nothing to do, sat down to table with us. He had a horse saddled, that he might accompany us as a guide as far as *Greenly Ferry*, where we were to repass the Fluvanna; but I was informed that one of the servant's horses was so much wounded in the withers, that it was impossible to mount him. This accident was the more inconvenient, as I had  
already

already been obliged to leave one at Mr. Jefferson's, so that I had no fresh horse to substitute. On applying to Mr. Grisby, he told me that the only horse he had which could answer my purpose, was the one he generally rode, and which he was going to make use of to conduct us, but that he would willingly oblige me with it, and take mine in its place. On my assuring him that I would give him any thing he thought proper in return, he went to look at my horse, and when he came back told me, that when cured, he thought he might be worth his own, and that he left the difference entirely to myself. As each of them might be worth ten or twelve guineas, I gave him two in exchange, and he was perfectly contented. I had just before asked for the bill, and when he declined letting me have it, I gave him four guineas. He received them with satisfaction, assuring me it was double the sum he could have charged. At last we were obliged to take our leave of this good house, but not of Mr. Grisby, who had taken another horse to accompany us. On the road he shewed us two plantations  
which

which he had occupied successively, before he settled on the one he at present cultivates. He had left them in good condition, and sold them at the rate of twelve or thirteen shillings, Virginia currency, an acre, about ten livres of our money (8s. $\frac{1}{4}$  English.) We saw several other settlements in the woods, all of which were situated on the banks of some stream, whose source was not far distant. The peach-trees, which they take care to plant, and the Judas-tree (or *filiquastrum*, but different from that which produces the balm of Mecca) which grows naturally at the water's edge, were both in flower, and made a charming contrast to the immense firs and oaks, in the centre of which were situated these new plantations.

It was near ten o'clock when we arrived at the ferry, and as we approached, still following the course of the river, I saw an animal, to which I was a stranger, returning from the side of the river, and endeavouring to reach the wood. I pushed my horse towards it, hoping to frighten and make it climb a tree, for I took it for a racoon; in fact it mounted the nearest tree, but very slowly



slowly and awkwardly. I had no great difficulty in killing it, for it did not even endeavour to hide itself, like the squirrel, behind the large branches. When I had taken it from the dogs, among which it struggled hard, and had bitten them pretty sharply; on examining it with attention, I discovered it to be the *monax*, or the *marmoset* of America. In its form, fur, and colour it resembled very much the musk rat; but it is larger and differs essentially in the tail, which is short and rough. Like the musk rat, however, its ribs are so short and flexible, that they might be mistaken for gristles, so that though it is much bulkier than a hare, it can pass through a hole of not above two inches in diameter.

Greenly Ferry derives its name from the proprietor, and is situated between two steep banks. We passed it in three trips, and parting with Mr. Grisby, depended entirely on our own industry to find the road to a very steep, but little frequented gap, the only passage by which we could get out of the mountains. They told us, at the ferry, that we should find but one house,

three

three miles from thence, and at the foot of the very mountain we were to climb. A little path conducted us to this house: after asking new instructions, we followed another path, and began to ascend, not without difficulty, for in general the acclivity was so rapid, that we were obliged to stop our horses to give them breath. This ascent, which formed the road, is at least three miles long, by which you may judge of the height of these mountains; for in the space of an hundred miles, this is the least steep of any which compose what are called the *Blue Ridges*. Arrived at the summit, we enjoyed the reward generally bestowed on such labours. A magnificent, but savage prospect, presented itself to our eyes; we saw the mountains which form the *North Ridge*, and those which, crossing from one chain to the other, sometimes unite the *Blue Ridges*. In one of these traverses of mountains, the *Natural Bridge* is placed. It is to be observed, that I speak here only of the view to the north, for we had not the advantage of enjoying the double prospect; some neighbouring summits, and the height  
of

of trees, prevented us from extending our view to the southward. The descent was not less rapid than the ascent; its length was also three miles. We judged it necessary, for the relief of our horses and our own safety, to alight and walk; though the stones, which rolled under our feet, rendered it very incommodious. The dogs, which were not so fatigued by this inconvenience as ourselves, beat the woods, while we walked slowly on, and two hundred paces from us they sprang five wild turkeys; but as these birds directed their flight towards a steep hill behind us, we did not think proper to follow them. We were almost at the bottom of the mountain when we began to perceive the horizon; but this horizon discovered nothing but woods and mountains, far less elevated than those we were leaving, if we except three summits known by the name of the *Peaks of Otter*, which are very lofty, and advance from the Blue Ridges as a kind of counter-guard. In general, all the country from the Blue Ridges to the sources of the *Apamatoek*, may be considered as a *glacis* composed of little mountains, beginning  
at

at the foot of the Blue Ridges, and continually diminishing. Of this the best charts of Virginia give not the least indication, so that it is impossible, by the inspection of them, to form a just idea of the nature of this country.

It was half past one o'clock, and we had rode sixteen miles in very bad roads, when we arrived at the first house at the foot of the gap; but as it was an indifferent hut, we were obliged to proceed two miles further, to a planter's of the name of *Lambert*, who received us with every mark of politeness. He gave us cakes and milk, for he had neither bread nor biscuit; and, whilst our horses were feeding, he entertained us with gay, joyous conversation. Mr. Lambert is a kind of phenomenon in America, where longevity is very rare; he is eighty-three years of age, and scarcely appears to be fifty-five; he is well known in the country, for there is hardly a trade he has not followed, nor a part of it he has not lived in. He is now a husbandman, and resides at a very fine plantation, which he has cleared, at the foot of the mountains. His wife, who is  
only



only sixty-five, looks much older than he does ; his sons are yet young ; one is a Captain in the Virginia Legion, and formed his company himself in the beginning of the war. It was then composed of sixty-three men, all enlisted in the neighbourhood ; and at the end of six campaigns all the sixty-three are living, some few of them only having been wounded. At five we mounted again to proceed ten miles further, to the house of a Captain *Muller*, who, like Mr. Lambert, does not keep a public house, but willingly receives the few travellers who pass by this unfrequented road. Although they assured us we could not possibly miss the road, they would more properly have said it was impossible to find it ; for we deemed it very fortunate to lose ourselves but twice, and at length, after dark, we arrived at Mr. Muller's. He is a man about sixty, six feet high, and bulky in proportion, very loquacious, but a good kind of man, attached to his country, and a great newsmonger. He told us he would do his best to give us something for supper, but that he could offer us no other lodging than the room in which

he received us, where he would order them to place our beds. The room was spacious and clean, but already occupied by a sick person, whom he could not disturb, and whom he begged us to leave in the little corner he possessed. This was an unfortunate old man of eighty, who, two days before, travelling in the neighbourhood, had been half devoured by a great bitch, whose whelps he had imprudently approached; she had lacerated one of his arms and thighs. Mr. Muller bestowed on him every possible care, and Mrs. Muller herself dressed his wounds. This poor man slept all the evening, but in the night he complained much, and sometimes awakened us. On my asking him, the next morning, how he found himself, he answered, *mighty weak*\*. Before we went away I desired to have the bill, but Mr. Muller not chusing to present any, I begged him to accept of a couple of guineas, desiring, at the same time, to know if it was enough. "Too much," replied he, "you come from France to my country to support and defend it; I ought

\* *Mighty little, mighty few, mighty weak, &c.* are favourite expressions in America. TRANSLATOR.

ought to receive you better and take nothing, but I am only a poor countryman, and not in a condition to demonstrate my gratitude. If I were not ill, (and indeed he was asthmatic) I would mount my horse and attend you to the field of battle."

The little resource we had found in this house, and the necessity of dividing the long journey we had to make, determined us to set out very early, and breakfast at *New London*, a little town, two miles from hence. The difficulty of finding the road still remaining, I luckily met a man in the court-yard, just ready to mount, who relieved us from this anxiety. He was an old captain of the Virginia Legion, whom I had seen arrive in the evening in company with two tall young ladies, in huge gauze bonnets, covered with ribbands, and dressed in such a manner as formed a perfect contrast to the simplicity of the house in which they were \*. These, I understood,

I 2<sup>nd</sup> ... were

\* The rage for dress amongst the women in America, in the very height of the miseries of war, was beyond all bounds ; nor was it confined to the great towns, it prevailed equally on the sea-coasts, and

were Mr. Muller's daughters, returned from supping in the neighbourhood; but I was careful not to speak to them, as I doubted not but we had taken possession of the beds destined for these fines ladies and their company, and was in great terror lest

French

in the woods and solitudes of the vast extent of country, from Florida to New Hampshire. In travelling into the interior parts of Virginia I spent a delicious day at an inn, at the ferry of *Shenandoah*, or the Catacton Mountains, with the most enchanting, accomplished, and voluptuous girls, the daughters of the landlord, a native of Boston, transplanted thither; who, with all the gifts of Nature, possessed the art of dress not unworthy of Parisian milliners, and went regularly three times a week to the distance of seven miles, to attend the lessons of one *de Grace*, a French dancing-master, who was making a fortune in the country. In one of my journies, too, I met with a young Frenchman, who was travelling on the business of the celebrated M. *de Beaumarchais*, and was uncommonly successful in his amours, of which I speak from personal knowledge. On my enquiring the secret of his success, he assured me, and put it beyond a doubt, that his *passé-par-tout*, or master-key, consisted in a fashionable assortment of ribbands, and other small articles contained in a little box, from which, in difficult cases, he opened an irresistible and never-failing battery

TRANSLATOR.



French gallantry should compel us to resign them. I know not how they managed, but they appeared again in the morning and were far from handsome.

The Captain had been to sleep a mile from hence, at a sister's of Mr. Muller, and was mounting his horse to return to *New London*, whither he offered to conduct us, and to provide our breakfast as he kept a tavern. I accepted both his proposals, and we travelled the distance of ten miles very agreeably; the country, like that through which we passed the preceding evening, being diversified with very pretty plantations. *New London*, where we arrived at ten in the morning, is an infant town, but already pretty considerable, for there are at least seventy or eighty houses. There is likewise a military magazine established here, and several workshops for repairing arms. Its situation, in the middle of the woods, far distant from the seat of war, as well as commerce, does not require it should be fortified, but Nature has prepared every thing to make it a strong place. Situated upon a little platform, sur-

rounded by a glacis, the declivity of which is exactly what could be wished, this little town might be fortified at a small expence, and defended by a trifling garrison; we left it about twelve o'clock, and had twenty-four miles to go to the only house where we could find a good lodging. It was not a tavern, but the proprietor, Mr. *Hunter*, received strangers with pleasure. The difference between a real tavern, and a hospitable house of reception, is greatly to the advantage of the traveller; for in America, as in England, publicans pay heavy taxes, and indemnify themselves by their exorbitant charges. Mr. Hunter received us well, and in a very clean house. We set out early the next morning, and after riding eight miles, always in dry, arid woods, we stopped to breakfast at Mr. *Pattison's*. He is a fat man, about forty-five, disabled in his legs since he was two years old, and so helpless that he cannot transport himself from one place to another, but by pushing his chair. One would hardly think that a man afflicted with such an infirmity should choose to live in the midst of woods, where

where he has no company but one white man servant, and negroes of each sex. I believe him impotent in more than one respect, for he has lived in a constant state of celibacy, and his ostensible imbecility would have been no obstacle in a country where every body marries.

After we had proceeded twenty miles farther, we stopped, at four o'clock, at a Scotsman's of the name of *Johnson*, who is the most ridiculous personage imaginable. He pronounces English in so unintelligible a manner, that Mr. *Dillon* asked him, very ingenuously, what language he was speaking. As Mr. Johnson was an ill-tempered fellow, and a little drunk, I foresaw that this question could not succeed, and would turn out to our disadvantage, on quitting this sort of tavern. It happened as I imagined; for after a stay of only three quarters of an hour, he was not ashamed to ask *seven dallars* for about twenty pounds weight of the leaves of Indian corn for our horses, and two bowls of toddy for the servants. I consoled myself, like Monsieur de *Pourceaugnac* in Moliere, with the satisfaction only,

only, on paying him, of telling him my sentiments of his behaviour, and went twelve miles further to seek hospitality at another Scotsman's, where we arrived at the close of day. But this was a very different character from the other. He was an old man of seventy-two, called *Hodnett*, who has been established in America above forty years, though but lately fixed in the plantation where he now lives. He was eager to please, polite, and even inclined to compliment, proud of being born in Europe, and having past some time at Cork, where he missed, he told me, a fine opportunity of learning French ; for he had lived with several French merchants, whose names he yet remembered, although it was upwards of fifty years ago. He enquired at least twenty times of me if I knew them, and brought me an old book, the only one he had in the house, which was a bad treatise of geography. It was doubled in at the article of *Cork*, and one might see that he often read this chapter, as the paper was more thumbed there than elsewhere. Whilst he presented me with this book,



book, he observed, with an air of importance, that in his opinion it was the best geographical work existing, nor was it difficult to perceive that it was the only one he ever heard of. I amused myself however with assuring him that he possessed a real treasure, and that he ought carefully to preserve it. He went immediately to lock it up, and returned with a scrap of illuminated paper, which represented the arms and mottoes of the family of the *Hodnetts*. I made him happy by declaring they were known all over Europe, and surely it was not paying too dear for a good supper and good beds; for the next morning he would not give us any bill. I thought proper, however, to pay him handsomely; hoping, at the same time, that the family of the *Hodnetts* would know nothing of it, nor think themselves under the necessity of adding the sign of an ale-house to their armorial bearings.

It was on the 23d, but the heat was already very troublesome, when we arrived to breakfast at nine o'clock at *Cumberland Court-house*. This is the chief manor-house  
of

of a very considerable country ; it is situated in a plain of about a mile diameter, sixteen miles from *Hodnett's*. Besides the court-house, and a large tavern, its necessary appendage, there are seven or eight houses inhabited by gentlemen of fortune. I found the tavern full of people, and understood that the judges were assembled to hold *a court of claims*, that is to say, to hear and register the claims of sundry persons, who had furnished provisions for the army. We know that in general, but particularly in unexpected invasions, the American troops had no established magazines, and as it was necessary to have subsistence for them, provisions and forage were indiscriminately laid hold of, on giving the owners a receipt, which they called a *certificate*. During the campaign, whilst the enemy was at hand, little attention was given to this sort of loans, which accumulated incessantly, without the sum total being known, or any means taken to ascertain the proofs. Virginia being at length loaded with these certificates, it became necessary, sooner or later, to liquidate these accounts,

counts. The last assembly of the State of Virginia, had accordingly thought proper to pass a bill, authorizing the Justices of each county to take cognizance of these certificates, to authenticate their validity, and to register them, specifying the value of the provisions in money, according to the established tariff. I had the curiosity to go to the court-house, to see how this affair was transacted, and saw it was performed with great order, and simplicity. The Judges wore their common cloaths, but were seated on an elevated tribunal, as at London in the Court of King's Bench or Common Pleas. One of them seeing me standing at the door of the hall, descended from the bench, and invited me to go and take some refreshment at his house, where the family would entertain me till the sessions were finished. I told him I was obliged to proceed on my journey, and really we had no time to lose, for there yet remained twenty-eight miles to travel, and on a road so unprovided with every necessary for travellers, that though we intended giving our horses another bait, we could not find forage nearer  
than

than at a smith's shop, at twenty miles distance. As I intended therefore staying only half an hour at most, I seated myself under some trees; but Monsieur *D'Oyré* having gone into the house, returned and told me there was a company of four or five young girls, all pretty and very well dressed. Curiosity inducing me to see them, my attention was soon fixed upon a young woman of eighteen, who was suckling her child. Her features were so regular, and there was such decency and modesty in her behaviour, that she recalled to my mind those beautiful virgins of Raphael, the model, or example of the *beau ideal*. As I no longer permit myself to consider beauty but with a philosophic eye\*, I shall here make

\* The reader will here, doubtless, be apt to picture to himself the Author as a grey-headed worn out veteran, or an unimpassioned, stoical member of the French academy, barely remembering "the days when he was young;" but it is my duty to undeceive him; the *Marquis de Chastellux* is a well made, handsome man, of about four and forty, with eyes full of intelligence and fire, the carriage and deportment of a man of rank, and with a disposition extremely remote from an indifference to beauty.

TRANSLATOR.



make an observation which has occurred to me in foreign countries, particularly in England and America ; it is, that the beauty of forms and of features, the beauty independent of grace, motion, and expression, is oftener found amongst the people of the North, or amongst their descendants, than in France, or towards the South. If I were to assign the cause of this difference, I should say, that from some unaccountable reason, unconnected, doubtless, with the temperature of the climate, the youth of both sexes are more more forward, and more ripe, amongst them than with us, from which it results, that young people, particularly young girls of twelve, or thirteen, unite that roundness of form, freshness of complexion, and regularity of features, before they are modified by passions and habits.

In France it is quite different ; children are there very pretty to the age of seven or eight years ; but it is seldom that girls preserve their beauty to the age of puberty. This is the epoch, however, when we must form our opinion of what they may be ; but even these prognosticks are often deceitful.

ful. This period is a kind of chrysalis, a state of probation, in which the handsome become ugly, and the ugly handsome. It is from the age of twenty to twenty-five that the features develop and declare themselves, and that Nature compleats her work, if not diverted from her course by sickness, but especially by the moral and natural consequences of marriage. On the other hand, our women, this danger once over, retain their beauty longer than in any other country. It appears as if their very souls were identified in their features, and watched over their preservation ; not a movement without a grace, no grace without expression ; the desire of pleasing improves and perpetuates the means ; and Nature, rather aided than counteracted by Art, is never absolutely abandoned to a domestic life, nor lavished by an unlimited fecundity\*. Thus useful trees  
may

\* It is certain that population is not the main object of marriage in France amongst the higher classes. Amongst the nobility, in particular, the parties are generally contracted, when very young, by their respective parents, who bring them together to make an heir, or two, for the family ; which object,

may serve to decorate our gardens, if the too great quantity of fruit does not prevent the reproduction of their blossoms. These reflections prove, that the French women have no reason to envy strangers; that their beauty, in fact, though longer in coming to maturity, and less perfect, is more bewitching and more durable; that if others furnish better models for the painter, they will stand the test of a longer examination, and that, in short, if they are not always those we most admire, they are certainly those we must love the most and the longest.

But let me return from this dangerous excursion, and resume my journey. We  
had

once compleated, they part with as little affection as when they met, but with less passion, and pass the remainder of their lives in perfect freedom. Whilst family duty is performing for family purposes, their conduct is dictated, in general, by the nicest honour, and their noble blood is transmitted tolerably pure and free from contamination; but “unlimited fecundity,” as it is checked by some on principles of economy and prudence, is deemed *vulgar* and *barbarous* by all, except the lower classes, who are strangers to this system of refinement.

TRANSLATOR.

had rode forty-four miles, and night was closing fast upon us, when we arrived at *Powhatan Court-house*; this is a more recent, and more rustic settlement than that of Cumberland. It consists only of two mean huts, one for the purpose of holding the sessions, the other by way of publick house; but which hitherto is scarcely fit for the reception of travellers. It is kept by a young man who has just settled here; his wife is a tall, handsome woman, his sister-in-law not quite so pretty. We had a good supper and good beds, but our horses were obliged to do without forage. The county of Powhatan takes its name from a King of the Savages, famous in the history of Virginia, who reigned at the commencement of the last century; when the colony formed its first establishment at *James Town*, it was often necessary to treat, and sometimes to wage war with him. He is represented as a profound, but perfidious, politician. He had conquered all the country betwixt the Apamatock and Bay of Chesapeak, and was dreaded by the neighbouring nations.

We



We left Powhatan the 24th, early in the morning, and, after having stopped twice, the first time to breakfast in a poor little house, eight miles from Powhatan, and the last, twenty-four miles further, at a place called *Chesterfield Court-house*, where we saw the ruins of the barracks formerly occupied by Baron Stuben, since burnt by the English, arrived in good time at *Petersburg*. This day's journey was also forty-four miles. The town of Petersburg is situated on the right bank of the *Apamatoek*; there are some houses on the opposite shore, but this kind of suburb is a district independent of Petersburg, and called *Pocahunta*. We passed the river in a ferry-boat, and were conducted to a little public house about thirty steps from thence, which had an indifferent appearance; but, on entering, we found an apartment very neatly furnished; a tall woman, handsomely dressed, and of a genteel figure, who gave the necessary orders for our reception, and a young lady, equally tall, and very elegant, at work. I enquired their names, which I found were not less entitled to respect than their appearance.

The mistress of the house, already twice a widow, was called *Spencer*, and her daughter, by her first husband, *Miss Saunders*. I was shewn my bedchamber; and the first thing which struck me was a large magnificent harpsicord, on which lay also a guitar. These musical instruments belonged to *Miss Saunders*, who knew very well how to use them; but as we stood more in need of a good supper, than a concert, I was apprehensive at first of finding our landladies too good company, and that we should have fewer orders to give than compliments to make. *Mrs. Spencer*, however, happened to be the best woman in the world; a gay, cheerful creature, no common disposition in America; and her daughter, amidst the elegance of her appearance, was mild, polite, and easy in conversation. But to hungry travellers all this could, at the best, be considered but as a good omen for the supper, for which we had not long to wait; for scarcely had we time to admire the neatness and beauty of the table-cloth, before it was covered with plenty of good dishes, particularly some very large and excellent

cellent fish. We were very good friends with our charming landladies before we went to bed, and breakfasted with them the next morning. We were just going out to take a walk, when we received a visit from Mr. *Victor*, whom I had seen at Williamsburgh; he is a Prussian, who had formerly been in the army, and, after having travelled a great deal in Europe, came and settled in this country, where, by his talents, he first made his fortune; and, like every body else, finished by turning planter. He is an excellent musician, and plays every kind of instrument, which makes his company in great request by the whole neighbourhood. He told us he was come to pass a few days with Mrs. *Bowling*, one of the greatest landholders in Virginia, and proprietor of half the town of Petersburg. He added, that she had heard of our arrival, and hoped we would come and dine with her, which invitation we accepted, and put ourselves under the guidance of Mr. Victor, who first took us to the warehouses or magazines of tobacco. These warehouses, of which there are numbers in Virginia, though,

unfortunately, great part of them has been burned by the English, are under the direction of public authority. There are inspectors nominated to prove the quality of the tobacco brought by the planters, and if found good, they give a receipt for the quantity. The tobacco may then be considered as sold, these authentic receipts circulating as ready money in the country. For example : suppose I have deposited twenty hogsheads of tobacco at Petersburg, I may go fifty leagues thence to Alexandria or Fredericksburg, and buy horses, cloths, or any other article, with these receipts, which circulate through a number of hands before they reach the merchant who purchases the tobacco for exportation. This is an excellent institution, for by this means tobacco becomes not only a sort of bank-stock, but current coin. You often hear the inhabitants say, " This watch cost me ten hogsheads of tobacco ; this horse fifteen hogsheads ; or, I have been offered twenty, &c." It is true that the price of this article, which seldom varies in peace, is subject to fluctuations in time of war ; but then,



then, he who receives it in payment, makes a free bargain, calculates the risks and expectations, and runs the hazard; in short, we may look on this as a very useful establishment; it gives to commodities value and circulation, as soon as they are manufactured, and, in some measure, renders the planter independent of the merchant.

The warehouses at Petersburg belong to Mrs. Bowling. They were spared by the English, either because the Generals Phillips and Arnold, who lodged with her, had some respect for her property, or because they wished to preserve the tobacco contained in them in expectation of selling it for their profit. Phillips died in Mrs. Bowling's house, by which event the supreme command devolved upon Arnold; and I heard it said, that Lord Cornwallis, on his arrival, found him at great variance with the navy, who pretended that the booty belonged to them. Lord Cornwallis terminated the dispute, by burning the tobacco; but not before Mrs. Bowling, by her interest, had time sufficient to get it removed from her warehouses. She was lucky

enough, also, to save her valuable property in the same town, consisting of a mill, which turns such a number of mill-stones, bolting machines, cribbles, &c. and, in so simple and easy a manner, that it produces above £.800 a year sterling. I passed upwards of an hour in examining its various parts, and admiring the carpenter's work, and the construction. It is turned by the waters of the Apamatock, which are conveyed to it by a canal excavated in the rock. Having continued our walk in the town, where we saw a number of shops, many of which were well stocked, we thought it time to pay our respects to Mrs. Bowling, and begged Mr. Victor to conduct us to her. Her house, or rather houses, for she has two on the same line resembling each other, which she proposes to join together, are situated on the summit of a considerable slope, which rises from the level of the town of Petersburg, and corresponds so exactly with the course of the river, that there is no doubt of its having formerly formed one of its banks. This slope, and the vast platform on which the house is built,

built, are covered with grass, which afford excellent pasturage, and are also her property. It was formerly surrounded with rails, and she raised a number of fine horses there; but the English burned the fences, and carried away a great number of the horses. On our arrival we were saluted by Miss Bowling, a young lady of fifteen, possessing all the freshness of her age; she was followed by her mother, brother, and sister-in-law. The mother, a lady of fifty, has but little resemblance to her countrywomen; she is lively, active, and intelligent; knows perfectly well how to manage her immense fortune, and what is yet more rare, knows how to make good use of it. Her son and daughter-in-law I had already seen at Williamburgh. The young gentleman appears mild and polite, but his wife, of only seventeen years of age, is a most interesting acquaintance, not only from her face and form, which are exquisitely delicate, and quite European, but from her being also descended from the Indian Princess, *Pocahunta*, daughter of King *Powhatan*, of whom I have already spoken. We may

may presume that it is rather the disposition of that amiable American woman, than her exterior beauty, which Mrs. Bowling inherits

Perhaps they who are not particularly acquainted with the history of Virginia, may be ignorant, that Pocahunta was the protectress of the English, and often screened them from the cruelty of her father. She was but twelve years old when Captain *Smith*, the bravest, the most intelligent, and the most humane of the first colonists, fell into the hands of the savages; he already understood their language, had traded with them several times, and often appeased the quarrels between the Europeans and them; often had he been obliged also to fight them, and to punish their perfidy. At length, however, under the pretext of commerce, he was drawn into an ambush, and the only two companions who accompanied him, fell before his eyes; but, though alone, by his dexterity he extricated himself from the troop which surrounded him, until, unfortunately, imagining he could save himself by crossing a morass, he stuck fast, so that  
the



the savages, against whom he had no means of defending himself, at last took and bound him, and conducted him to Powhatan. The King was so proud of having Captain Smith in his power, that he sent him in triumph to all the tributary Princes, and ordered that he should be splendidly treated, till he returned to suffer that death which was prepared for him\*.

The

\* *Dr. Robertson, Mr. Adair*, and a number of writers have given an account of the cruel mode by which the Indians torture their prisoners of war, before they put them to death. During my residence near Alexandria, in Virginia, in 1782, I had the following relation of their barbarous treatment, from a gentleman who had just escaped out of the hands of these infernal furies. *Colonel Crawford*, and his son, two great land surveyors, and most respectable planters in Virginia, in heading a party against the Indians and Tories, aided by some light horse from the British frontiers, who had spread horror and devastation through the infant back settlements of the United States, were defeated and made prisoners. The gentleman, from whom I had this account, was surgeon to the party, and was conducted, with Mr. Crawford and his son, to be sacrificed in his turn, at one of the Indian villages, to the manes of their people slain in battle. The bloody business commenced with Mr. Crawford, the father, who was deli-

The fatal moment at last arrived, Captain Smith was laid upon the hearth of the  
savage

wered over to *the women*, and being fastened to a stake, in the centre of a circle formed by the savages *and their allies*, the female furies, after the preamble of a war song, began by tearing out the nails of his toes and fingers, then proceeded, at considerable intervals, to cut off his nose and ears; after which they stuck his lacerated body full of pitch pines, large pieces of which they inserted, horrid to relate! into his private parts; to all of which they set fire, and which continued burning, amidst the inconceivable tortures of the unhappy man, for a considerable time. After thus glutting their revenge, by arts of barbarity, the success of which was repeatedly applauded by the surrounding demons, they cut off his genitals, and rushing in upon him, finished his misery with their tomohawks, and hacked his body limb from limb. This dreadful scene passed in the presence of the son of the unhappy sufferer, and the surgeon, who were to be conveyed to different villages to undergo the same fate. The next day, accordingly, young Crawford was sacrificed with the same circumstances of horror; after which, the surgeon, being entrusted to the care of four of the savages, who fortunately got drunk with some rum, given them as a recompence by their European friends, escaped from them in the woods, and, bound as he was, wandered for four or five and twenty days, subsisting on leaves and berries, before he reached the neighbourhood of Winchester, whence he got down to

savage King, and his head placed upon a large stone to receive the stroke of death, when Pocahunta, the youngest and darling daughter of Pouchatan, threw herself upon his body, clasped him in her arms, and declared, that if the cruel sentence were executed, the first blow should fall on her. All *savages*, (*absolute sovereigns* and *tyrants* not

Alexandria. Amongst these wretches was one *Simon Girty*, a native of Virginia, who was formerly well acquainted with Colonel Crawford, and had been employed by the assembly of Virginia to conciliate the savages, and obtain their neutrality; but who having been detected by the Governor in some malversations of the public money entrusted to him, and his duplicity discovered, went over to the British, and became more merciless than the worst of these infernal hell-hounds. Mr. Crawford, in the midst of his tremendous sufferings, seeing *Girty* standing in the circle, with a gun, called to him by his name, and implored him as an old friend, a christian, and a countryman, to shoot him, and by that act of mercy relieve him from his misery, but the inhuman monster tauntingly replied, "No, Crawford, I have got *no powder*, your assembly did not chuse to trust me, and you must now pay for it," and continued to feast his eyes with the bloody sacrifice.

TRANSLATOR.

not excepted,) are invariably more affected by the tears of infancy, than the voice of humanity. Powhatan could not resist the tears and prayers of his daughter; Captain Smith obtained his life, on condition of paying for his ransom a certain quantity of muskets, powder and iron utensils; but how were they to be obtained? They would neither permit him to return to James-Town, nor let the English know where he was, lest they should demand him sword in hand. Captain Smith, who was as sensible as courageous, said, that if Powhatan would permit one of his subjects to carry to James-Town a little board which he would give him, he should find under a tree, at the day and hour appointed, all the articles demanded for his ransom. Powhatan consented, but without having much faith in his promises, believing it to be only an artifice of the Captain's to prolong his life. But he had written on the board a few lines sufficient to give an account of his situation. The messenger returned. The King sent to the place fixed upon, and  
was



was greatly astonished to find every thing which had been demanded. Powhatan could not conceive this mode of transmitting thoughts, and Captain Smith was henceforth looked upon as a great magician, to whom they could not shew too much respect. He left the savages in this opinion, and hastened to return home. Two or three years after, some fresh differences arising amidst them and the English, Powhatan, who no longer thought them forcercers, but still feared their power, laid a horrid plan to get rid of them altogether. His project was to attack them in profound peace, and cut the throats of the whole colony. The night of this intended conspiracy, Pocahunta took advantage of the obscurity, and in a terrible storm which kept the savages in their tents, escaped from her father's house, advised the English to be upon their guard, but conjured them to spare her family, to appear ignorant of the intelligence she had given, and terminate all their differences by a new treaty. It would be tedious to relate all the services which  
this

this angel of peace rendered to both nations. I shall only add, that the English, I know not from what motives, but certainly against all faith and equity, thought proper to carry her off. Long and bitterly did she deplore her fate, and the only consolation she had was Captain Smith, in whom she found a second father. She was treated with great respect, and married to a planter of the name of *Rolle*, who soon after took her to England. This was in the reign of *James the First*; and, it is said, that this monarch, pedantic and ridiculous in every point, was so infatuated with the prerogatives of royalty, that he expressed his displeasure, that one of his subjects should dare to marry the daughter even of a savage *King*. It will not perhaps be difficult to decide on this occasion, whether it was the savage King who derived honour from finding himself placed upon a level with the European prince, or the English monarch, who by his pride and prejudices reduced himself to a level with the chief of the savages. Be that as it will, Captain Smith,

Smith, who had returned to London before the arrival of Pocahunta, was extremely happy to see her again, but dared not to treat her with the same familiarity as at James-Town. As soon as she saw him, she threw herself into his arms, calling him, her father; but finding that he neither returned her caresses with equal warmth, nor the endearing title of daughter, she turned aside her head and wept bitterly, and it was a long time before they could obtain a single word from her. Captain Smith enquired several times what could be the cause of her affliction.—“What!” said she, “did I  
“not save thy life in America? When I was  
“torn from the arms of my father, and  
“conducted amongst thy friends, didst  
“thou not promise to be a father to me?  
“Didst thou not assure me, that if I went  
“into thy country thou wouldst be my fa-  
“ther, and that I should be thy daughter?  
“Thou hast deceived me, and behold me,  
“now here, a stranger and an orphan.” It was not difficult for the Captain to make his peace with this charming creature, whom he tenderly loved. He presented  
her

her to several people of the first quality, but never dared take her to court, from which however she received several favours. After a residence of several years in England, an example of virtue and piety, and attachment to her husband, she died, as she was on the point of embarking on her return to America. She left an only son, who was married, and left only daughters; these daughters, others; and thus, with the female line, the blood of the amiable Pocahunta now flows in the veins of the young and charming Mrs. Bowling.

I hope I shall be pardoned this long digression, which may be pleasing to some readers. My visit to Mrs. Bowling and her family, having convinced me, that I should pass part of the day with them agreeably, I continued my walk, with a promise of returning at two o'clock. Mr. Victor conducted me to the camp formerly occupied by the enemy, and testified his regret that I could not take a nearer view of Mr. *Bannister's* handsome country-house, which was in sight; there being no other obstacle however than the distance, about  
a mile



a mile and a half, and the noonday heat, we determined that this should not stop us; and, walking slowly, we reached, without fatigue, this house, which is really worth seeing. It is decorated rather in the Italian, than the English or American style, having three porticoes at the three principal entries, each of them supported by four columns \*. It was then occupied by an in-

\* The Italian architecture, that of porticoes in particular, is admirably adapted to all hot climates, and of course to the Southern States of America. The same motives therefore, which induced the invention of this mode of building in antient Greece and Rome, and in general throughout the Eastern world, would naturally give rise to the same inventions of convenience in similar climates; and, in fact, though the richer and more polished descendants of Britain, in the New World, may be supposed to adopt these porticoes from Italy, as the cultivated mind of the Author imagines; the very poorest settler, nay even the native Indian, invariably attempts some kind of substitute for this necessary protection from the sun and weather. Every tavern or inn is provided with a covered portico for the convenience of its guests, and this evidently from the necessity of the case. We have only to examine the resources of the savage islander in the Pacific Ocean, and recur

habitant of Carolina, called *Nelson*, who had been driven from his country by the war, which followed him to Petersburg. He invited me to walk in, and whilst he made me, according to custom, drink a glass of wine, another Carolinian, of the name of *Bull*, arrived to dine with him. The latter was a militia General, and came from General Greene's army, where his time of service was expired. The history of Mr. Bull, which is not long, will give a general idea of the state of the Southern Provinces. Possessed of a great number of negroes, large personal property, particularly in plate, previous to, and during the war, he did not think proper, after the capture of Charles-Town, to expose his wealth to the rapacity of the English. He set off therefore with two hundred negroes, followed by a great number of waggons laden with his effects, and provisions, for his little

to the origin of all architecture, from the fluted Corinthian in the hall of empire, to the rustic prop of the thatched roof, to discover the natural progress of the human mind, and the similarity of human genius.

TRANSLATOR.

little army, and travelled, in this manner, thro' South and North Carolina, and part of Virginia, pitching his camp every evening in the most commodious situations. At length he arrived at *Tukakoe*, on James's River, the seat of his old friend Mr. *Randolph*, a rich planter of Virginia, who gave him a spot of ground near his house, on which his negroes built one for himself. Here he lived in tranquillity, surrounded by his slaves and his flocks, until Arnold and Phillips invaded Virginia, and approached his new asylum. Mr. Bull once more departed with his wealth, his flocks, and negroes, to retire into the upper country near Frederickburg. On my asking him what he would have done, had we not opportunely arrived to expel the English, who intended to complete the conquest of Virginia, "I should have retired to Maryland," he replied,—and if they had gone thither?—"I should have proceeded to Pennsylvania, and so on, even to New England." Does not this recall to mind the ancient patriarchs emigrating with their family and flocks, with a certainty of finding every where a country

to receive and nourish them? \* General Bull was preparing to return to Carolina in hopes,

\* I have already said, that I had the happiness of a particular acquaintance with many of the principal gentlemen of South Carolina. The reflexion on the pleasing hours I passed with them in their exiled situation at Philadelphia, and the warm friendship with which they honoured me, whilst it reconciles me to the world, and soothes the memory of past sufferings, touches the tenderest affections of a sensible and grateful heart. My bosom beat high with genuine ardour in the cause for which they sacrificed every personal consideration, but I had, frequently, the opportunity of appreciating that sacrifice. Seeing what I saw, I want no instances of Greek or Roman virtue to stimulate my feelings, or excite my emulation; and it will ever be matter of congratulation with me, to have witnessed, in the principal inhabitants of Carolina, all the blandishments of civilized society, the love of life and all its blessings, a humanity void of reproach, an hospitality not exceeded in the patriarchal ages, contrary to the paradoxes of systematic writers, blended with the inflexible virtue which distinguished the best and purest ages of the world. From the number, I shall only select the brilliant examples of Major *Pierce Butler*, and Mr. *Arthur Middleton*. Wealth, honour, interest, domestic happiness, their children, were nothing in the eyes of such men, though calculated to enjoy, and to communicate happiness in every sphere,



hopes, henceforth, of passing happier days. After putting many questions to him respecting affairs to the Southward, which he answered with great frankness and good sense, I returned to Mrs. Bowling's, where I was not disappointed in finding a good dinner, the honours of which she did with much cordiality, without restraint, or ceremony. After dinner, Miss Bowling played on the harpsichord, and sung like an adept in music, although her voice was not agreeable; whilst the descendant of Pocahunta touched a guittar, and sung like a person unskilled in music, but with a charming voice. On my return home, I had another concert; Miss Saunders singing some airs, which she accompanied sometimes with the harpsichord, and sometimes with the guittar.

L 3      Next

when put in competition with the great objects of universal public happiness, and sacred Freedom's holy cause. How painful is it to be compelled to add, that such was the cold, selfish spirit of too many of the inhabitants of Philadelphia towards their Carolina brethren, who had every claim upon their sympathy, and good offices, as to merit the indignation of every feeling mind, and to fix an indelible stain upon their character as men and citizens.

TRANSLATOR.

Next day we were obliged to quit this good house and agreeable company; but before I left Petersburg, I observed that it was already a flourishing town, and must become more so, every day, from its favourable situation with respect to commerce. First, because it is placed immediately below the *Falls*, or Rapids of the Apamatock, and the river can here float vessels of fifty or sixty tons burthen. Secondly, because the productions of the Southern part of Virginia have no other outlet, and those even of North Carolina are gradually taking this way, the navigation of the *Roanoke* and Albemarle sound being by no means so commodious as that of the Apomatock and James's River. But these advantages are unfortunately balanced by the insalubrity of the climate; for I have been assured, that of all the inhabitants of the three little burghs of Pocahunta, of Blandford and Petersburg, which may be considered as forming one town, not two persons are to be found who are natives of the country. Commerce and navigation, notwithstanding, produce a concourse of strangers. The situation, besides, is agreeable,  
and

and the climate may probably be rendered more salubrious by draining some morasses in the neighbourhood.

Five miles from Petersburg, we passed the small river of Randolph, over a stone bridge; and travelling, through a rich and well peopled country, arrived at a fork of roads, where we were unlucky enough precisely to make choice of that which did not lead to Richmond, the place of our destination. But we had no reason to regret our error, as it was only two miles about; and we skirted James river to a charming place called *Warwick*, where a groupe of handsome houses form a sort of village, and there are several superb ones in the neighbourhood; amongst others, that of Colonel Carey\*, on the right bank of the river, and M. *Randolph's* on the opposite shore. One must be fatigued with hearing the name of Randolph mentioned in travelling in Virginia (for it is one of the most ancient families in the country) a Randolph being amongst the first settlers, and is likewise one of the most numerous and rich.

\* This is the gentleman whose fine mills were burnt by Arnold, as mentioned in the London Gazette.

It is divided into seven or eight branches, and I am not afraid of exaggerating, when I say, that they possess an income of upwards of a million of livres. It is only twenty-five miles from Petersburg to Richmond, but as we had lost our way, and travelled but slowly, it was near three o'clock when we reached *Mancheſter*, a sort of suburb to Richmond, on the right bank of the river, where you pass the ferry. The passage was short, there being two boats for the accommodation of travellers. Though Richmond be already an old town, and well situated for trade, being built on the spot where James river begins to be navigable, that is, just below the Rapids, it was, before the war, one of the least considerable in Virginia, where they are all, in general, very small ; but the seat of government having been removed from Williamsburgh, it is become a real capital, and is augmenting every day. It was necessary, doubtless, to place the legislative body at a distance from the sea-coast, where it was exposed to the rapid and unexpected inroads of the English, but Williamsburgh had the still farther inconvenience



convenience of being situated at the extremity of the state, which obliged a great part of the Delegates to make a long journey to the Assembly ; besides, that from its position between James and York rivers, it has no port nor communication with them but by small creeks very difficult for navigation, whilst vessels of 200 tons come up to Richmond. This new capital is divided into three parts, one of which is on the edge of the river, and may be considered as the port ; the two others are built on two eminences, which are separated by a little valley. I was conducted to that on the west, where I found a good inn, and my lodgings and dinner ordered by a servant whom I had sent on two days before, with a lame horse. We were served, therefore, immediately, but with such magnificence and profusion, that there would have been too much for twenty persons. Every plate that was brought us produced a burst of laughter, but not without considerable alarm for the bill of the next day ; for I had been apprized that the inns at Richmond were uncommonly extravagant.

extravagant. I escaped, however, for seven or eight Louis d'or, which was not enormous, considering our expenditure. A short time before, Mr. de Rochambeau had paid five and twenty Louis, at another inn, for some horses which remained there for four or five days, although he neither ate nor slept in it himself. Mr. *Formicalo*, my landlord, was more honest; his only error was the exalted idea he had formed of the manner in which French General Officers must be treated. He is a Neapolitan, who came to Virginia with *Lord Dunmore*, as his *Maitre d'Hôtel*, but he had gone rather round about, having been before in Russia. At present he has a good house, furniture, and slaves, and will soon become a man of consequence in his new country. He still, however, collects his native land with pleasure, and I have no doubt that my attention in addressing him only in Italian, saved me a few Louis.

After dinner I went to pay a visit to Mr. *Harrison*, then Governor of the State. I found him in a homely, but spacious enough house, which was fitted up for him. As the Assembly was not then sitting, there  
was

was nothing to distinguish him from other citizens. One of his brothers, who is a Colonel of Artillery, and one of his sons, who acts as his Secretary, were with him. The conversation was free and agreeable, which he was even desirous of prolonging; for on my rising in half an hour, lest I might interrupt him, he assured me that the business of the day was at an end, and desired me to resume my seat. We talked much of the first Congress in America, in which he sat for two years, and which, as I have already said, was composed of every person distinguished for virtue and capacity on the continent. This subject led us naturally to that which is the most favourite topic amongst the Americans, the origin and commencement of the present revolution. It is a circumstance peculiar to Virginia, that the inhabitants of that country were certainly in the best situation of all the colonists under the English government. The Virginians were planters, rather than merchants, and the objects of their culture were rather valuable than the result of industry. They possessed, almost exclusively, the privileged

vileged article of tobacco, which the English came in quest of into the very heart of the country, bringing in exchange every article of utility, and even of luxury. They had a particular regard and predilection for Virginia, and favoured accordingly the peculiar disposition of that country, where cupidity and indolence go hand-in-hand, and serve only as boundaries to each other. It was undoubtedly no easy matter therefore, to persuade this people to take up arms, because the town of Boston did not chuse to pay a duty upon tea, and was in open rupture with England. To produce this effect, it was necessary to substitute activity for indolence, and foresight for indifference. That idea was to be awakened at which every man, educated in the principles of the English constitution, shudders, the idea of a servile submission to a tax to which he has not himself consented. The precise case however relative to them, had not yet occurred, though every enlightened mind foresaw that such was the object, and would be the inevitable consequence of the early measures of the government:



vernment: but how were the people to be convinced of this? By what other motive could they be brought to adopt decisive measures, if not by the confidence they reposed in their leaders? Mr. Harrison informed me, that when he was on the point of setting out with Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Lee to attend the first Congress at Philadelphia, a number of respectable, but uninformed inhabitants, waited upon, and addressed them as follows: "You assert that  
" there is a fixed intention to invade our  
" rights and privileges; we own that we  
" do not see this clearly, but since you  
" assure us that it is so, we believe the fact.  
" We are about to take a very dangerous  
" step, but we confide in you, and are ready  
" to support you in every measure you shall  
" think proper to adopt." Mr. Harrison added, that he found himself greatly relieved by a speech made by Lord North soon after, in which he could not refrain from avowing, in the clearest manner, the plan of the British Government \*. This speech

was

\* I cannot here resist transcribing a passage from Mr. *Payne's* celebrated Letter to the *Abbe Raynal*,

was printed in the public papers, and all America rang with its contents. Returning

which merits preservation, and may serve to illustrate the ideas of America respecting the general views of Britain, in hopes that every reflecting Englishman is at length dispassionate enough to bear the observation. “ I shall now take my leave of this  
“ passage of the Abbé, with an observation, which  
“ until something unfolds itself to convince me of  
“ the contrary, I cannot avoid believing to be true;  
“ which is, that it was the fixed determination of  
“ the British cabinet to quarrel with America at all  
“ events. They (the members who compose the  
“ cabinet) had no doubt of success, if they could  
“ once bring it to the issue of a battle; and they  
“ expected from a conquest, what they could nei-  
“ ther propose with decency, nor hope for by nego-  
“ tiation. The charters and constitutions of the  
“ colonies were become to them matters of offence,  
“ and their rapid progress in property and popula-  
“ tion were beheld with disgust, as the growing and  
“ natural means of independence. They saw no  
“ way to retain them long, but by reducing them  
“ in time. A conquest would at once have made  
“ them lords and landlords; and put them in pos-  
“ session both of the revenue and the rental. The  
“ whole trouble of government would have ceased  
“ in a victory, and a final end been put to remon-  
“ strance and debate. The experience of the stamp-  
“ act had taught them how to quarrel, with the ad-

ing afterwards to Virginia, he saw the same persons who had thus addressed him on his departure, who now confessed that he had not deceived them, and that henceforward they were resolutely determined upon war.

These

“ vantages of cover and convenience, and they had  
“ nothing to do but to renew the scene, and put  
“ contention into motion. They hoped for a re-  
“ bellion, and they made one. They expected a  
“ declaration of independence, and they were not  
“ disappointed. But after this, they looked for  
“ victory, and they obtained a defeat. If this be  
“ taken as the generating cause of the contest, then  
“ is every part of the conduct of the British mini-  
“ stry consistent, from the commencement of the  
“ dispute, until the signing the treaty of Paris, (the  
“ American and French alliance) after which, con-  
“ quest becoming doubtful, they had recourse to nego-  
“ tiation, and were again defeated. If we take a re-  
“ view of what part Britain has acted, we shall  
“ find every thing which ought to make a nation  
“ blush. The most vulgar abuse, accompanied by  
“ that species of haughtiness which distinguishes  
“ the hero of a mob from the character of a gentle-  
“ man; it was as much from her *manners*, as from  
“ her injustice, that she lost the colonies. By the  
“ latter she provoked their principles, by the for-  
“ mer she exhausted their patience. And it ought  
“ to be held out to the world, to shew, how neces-  
“ sary it is to conduct the business of government  
“ with civility.”

TRANSLATOR.

These particular details cannot but be useful to such Europeans as are desirous of forming a just idea of those great events, in which they took so deep an interest; for they would be much deceived in imagining that all the Thirteen States of America were invariably animated by the same spirit, and affected by the same sentiments. But they would commit a still greater error, did they imagine, that these people resemble each other in their forms of government, their manners and opinions. One must be in the country itself; one must be acquainted with the language, and take a pleasure in conversing, and in listening, to be qualified to form, and that slowly, a proper opinion and a decisive judgment \*.

After

\* The same ingenious author of *Common Sense*, makes another observation, in his answer to the very ignorant, or very prejudiced work of the Abbé Raynal on the revolution of America, to which, however it may militate against the utility of the present publication, or the notes of the Translator, he cannot avoid perfectly subscribing: viz. “I never yet  
“ saw an European description of America that was  
“ true, neither can any person gain a just idea of it,  
“ but by coming to it.”

TRANSLATOR.



After this reflection, the reader will not be surprized at the pleasure I took in conversing with Mr. Harrison. Besides that I was particularly happy to form an acquaintance with a man of so estimable a character in every respect, and whose best eulogium it is to say, that he is the intimate friend of Dr. Franklin \*. He pressed me to dine

\* The illustrious and amiable character of Dr. Franklin is far beyond my praise. To have known him ; to have been a frequent witness to the distinguished acts of his great mind ; to have been in a situation to learn, and to admire his comprehensive views, and benevolent motives ; to have heard the profound maxims of wise philosophy and sound politics, drop from his lips with all the unaffected simplicity of the most indifferent conversation ; to have heard him deviate from the depths of reason, and adopt his instructive discourse to the capacity and temper of the young and gay ; to have enjoyed in short, the varied luxuries of his delightful society, is a subject of triumph and consolation, of which nothing can deprive me. He too as well as the envious and interested enemies of his transcendent merit, must drop from off the scene, but his name, *ære perennius*, is inscribed in indelible characters on the immortal roll of philosophy and freedom, for the *ar-dentia verba* of the most honest advocate of freedom,

with him next day, and to pass another day at Richmond; but as there was nothing to excite curiosity in that town, and I was desirous of stopping at Westover before I returned to Williamsburgh, where I was anxious to arrive, we set out the 27th at eight in the morning, under the escort of Colonel Harrison, who accompanied us to a road from which it was impossible to go astray. We travelled six and twenty miles without halting, in very hot weather, but by a very agreeable road, with magnificent houses in view at every instant; for the banks of James-River form the garden of Virginia. That of Mrs. Bird, to which I was going, surpasses them all in the magnificence of the buildings, the beauty of its

of the present age the late Serjeant Glynn, on a great occasion; the action against Lord Halifax for the false imprisonment of Mr. Wilkes, may with peculiar justice be applied to this great man. *"Few men in whole revolving ages can be found, who dare oppose themselves to the force of tyranny, and whose single breasts contain the spirit of nations."*

TRANSLATOR:

its situation, and the pleasures of society \*.

Mrs. *Bird* is the widow of a Colonel who served in the war of 1756, and was afterwards one of the council under the British Government. His talents, his personal qualities, and his riches, for he possessed an immense territory, rendered him one of the principal personages of the country; but being a spendthrift and a gambler, he left his affairs, at his death, in very great disorder. He had four children by his first wife, who were already settled in the world, and has left eight by his second, of whom

M 2

the

\* The most perfect ease and comfort characterize the mode of receiving strangers in Virginia, but no where are these circumstances more conspicuous than at the house of General Washington. Your apartments are your home, the servants of the house are yours, and whilst every inducement is held out to bring you into the general society in the drawing room, or at the table, it rests with yourself to be served or not with every thing in your own chamber. In short, nothing can more resemble the easy reception of guests at the country residence of the late *Sir Charles Turner* in Yorkshire, where hospitality perhaps was strained farther than consisted with a proper assortment of company, or even with safety.

TRANSLATOR.

the widow takes care. She has preserved his beautiful house, situated on James-River, a large personal property, a considerable number of slaves, and some plantations which she has rendered valuable. She is about two-and-forty, with an agreeable countenance, and great sense. Four of her eight children are daughters, two of whom are near twenty, and they are all amiable and well educated. Her care and activity have in some measure repaired the effects of her husband's dissipation, and her house is still the most celebrated, and the most agreeable of the neighbourhood. She has experienced however fresh misfortunes; three times have the English landed at Westover, under Arnold and Cornwallis; and though these visits cost her dear, her husband's former attachment to England, where his eldest son is now serving in the army, her relationship with Arnold, whose cousin german she is, and perhaps too, the jealousy of her neighbours, have given birth to suspicions, that war alone was not the object which induced the English always to make their descents at her habitation. She has



has been accused even of connivance with them, and the government have once put their seal upon her papers; but she has braved the tempest, and defended herself with firmness; and though her affair be not yet terminated, it does not appear as if she was likely to suffer any other inconvenience than that of being disturbed and suspected. Her two eldest daughters passed the last winter at Williamsburgh, where they were greatly complimented by M. de Rochambeau and the whole army\*. I had

M 3 also

\* The prudent conduct of the French officers, and the strict discipline of their troops in a country with different manners, language, and religion, full of inveterate prejudices, and wherein they had very lately been regarded as natural enemies, must ever be considered as an epocha and a phænomenon, in the history of policy and subordination. Whilst all ranks of officers were making it their study successfully to conciliate the good opinion of the higher classes, nothing could exceed the probity, and urbanity of the common soldiers; not only did they live with the American troops in a harmony, hitherto unknown to allied armies, even of kindred language, interest, and religion, but their conduct was irreproachable, and even delicate to the inhabitants of the country. They who predicted discord on the

also received them in the best manner I could, and received the thanks of Mrs. Bird, with a pressing invitation to come and see her; I found myself in consequence, quite at home. I found here also my acquaintance, the young Mrs. Bowling, who was on a visit to Mr. *Mead*, a friend and neighbour of Mrs. Bird's, who had invited him and his company to dinner. I passed this day therefore very agreeably, and Mr. and Mrs. Mead, whom I had also known at Williamsburgh, engaged the company to dine with them the next day. The river alone separates the two houses, which are notwithstanding, upwards of a mile distant from each other; but as there is very little current, the breadth of the water between them does not prevent it from being soon passed. Mr. Mead's house is by no means

introduction of a French army, had reason and experience on their side, but the spirit of policy and wisdom which presided in the French councils had gone forth, and diffusing itself through every subordinate class of men, persuaded even the meanest actors in the war, and baffled foresight. Nor was this one of the least extraordinary circumstances of this wonderful revolution.

TRANSLATOR.

means so handsome as that of Westover, but it is extremely well fitted up within, and stands on a charming situation; for it is directly opposite to Mrs. Bird's, which, with its surrounding appendages, has the appearance of a small town, and forms a most delightful prospect. Mr. Mead's garden, like that of Westover, is in the nature of a terrace on the bank of the river, and is capable of being made still more beautiful, if Mr. Mead preserves his house, and gives some attention to it; for he is a philosopher of a very amiable but singular turn of mind, and such as is particularly uncommon in Virginia, since he rarely attends to affairs of interest, and cannot prevail upon himself to make his negroes work †. He is even so disgusted with a culture

† Whilst the Translator was employed in this passage, he read in the public prints, the exultation of a friend to his fellow-creatures, that a Mr. Pleasants, a quaker on James-River in Virginia, had liberated his slaves, and made a sacrifice of 3000l. sterling to this noble act of humanity. The Translator knows the country too well not to feel the force of the Author's subsequent reasoning on the difficulty and danger of a general emancipation of the negroes,

culture wherein it is necessary to make use of slaves, that he is tempted to sell his possessions in Virginia, and remove to New England. Mrs. Bird, who has a numerous family to provide for, cannot carry her philosophy so far; but she takes great care of her negroes, makes them as happy as their situation will admit, and serves them herself as a doctor in time of sickness. She has even made some interesting discoveries on the disorders incident to them, and discovered a very salutary method of treating a sort of putrid fever which carries them off commonly in a few days, and against which the physicians of the country have exerted themselves without success.

The 29th, the whole of which day I spent at Westover, furnishes nothing interesting in this journal, except some information I had the opportunity of acquiring respecting two sorts of animals, of very different

nor after mature reflection now, and on the spot, is he able to overcome his objections. But God, in his Divine Providence, forbid that so splendid an example of active virtue, should clash with the unavoidable policy, or the necessary welfare of society!

TRANSLATOR.



ferent species, the *sturgeon* and the *humming-bird*. As I was walking by the river-side, I saw two negroes carrying an immense sturgeon, and on my asking them how they had taken it, they told me that at this season, they were so common as to be taken easily in a sean (a sort of fishing-net), and that fifteen or twenty were found sometimes in the net; but that there was a much more simple method of taking them, which they had just been using. This species of monsters, which are so active in the evening as to be perpetually leaping to a great height above the surface of the water, usually sleep profoundly at mid-day †.

Two

† From General Washington's house, which stands on the lofty banks of the Potowmack, in a situation more magnificent than I can paint to an European imagination, I have seen for several hours together in a summer's evening, hundreds, perhaps I might say thousands of sturgeon, at a great height from the water at the same instant, so that the quantity in the river must have been inconceivably great; but notwithstanding the rivers in Virginia abound with fish, they are by no means plentiful at table, such is the indolence of the inhabitants!

Mr.

Two or three negroes then proceed in a little boat, furnished with a long cord, at the

Mr. *Lund Washington*, a relation of the General's, and who managed all his affairs during his *nine years* absence with the army, informed me that an English frigate having come up the Potowmac, a party was landed who set fire to and destroyed some gentlemen's houses on the Maryland side in sight of *Mount Vernon* the General's house, after which the Captain, (I think Captain *Graves* of the *Actæon*) sent a boat on shore to the General's, demanding a large supply of provisions, &c. with a menace of burning it likewise in case of a refusal. To this message Mr. Lund Washington replied, "that when the General engaged in the contest he had put all to stake, and was well-aware of the exposed situation of his house and property, in consequence of which he had given him orders by no means to comply with any such demands, for that he would make no unworthy compromise with the enemy, and was ready to meet the fate of his neighbours." The Captain was highly incensed on receiving this answer, and removed his frigate to the Virginia shore; but before he commenced his operations, he sent another message to the same purport, offering likewise a passport to Mr. Washington to come on board; he returned accordingly in the boat, carrying with him a small present of poultry, of which he begged the Captain's acceptance. His presence produced the best effect, he was hospitably received notwith-

the end of which is a sharp iron crook, which they hold suspended like a log line. As soon as they find this line stopped by some obstacle, they draw it forcibly towards them, so as to strike the hook into the sturgeon, which they either drag out of the water, or which, after some struggling,

standing he repeated the same sentiments with the same firmness. The Captain expressed his personal respect for the character of the General, commending the conduct of Mr. Lund Washington, and assured him nothing but his having misconceived the terms of the first answer could have induced him for a moment to entertain the idea of taking the smallest measure offensive to so illustrious a character as the General, explaining at the same time the real or supposed provocations which had compelled his severity on the other side of the river. Mr. Washington, after spending some time in perfect harmony on board, returned, and instantly dispatched sheep, hogs, and an abundant supply of other articles as a present to the English frigate. The Translator hopes that in the *present state* of men and measures in England, Mr. Graves, or whoever the Captain of that frigate was, will neither be offended at this anecdote, nor be afraid to own himself the actor in this generous transaction. Henry IVth supplied Paris with provisions whilst he was blockading it!

TRANSLATOR.

gling, and losing all its blood, floats at length upon the surface, and is easily taken.

As for the humming-birds, I saw them for the first time, and was never tired of beholding them. The walls of the garden and the house were covered with honey-suckles, which afforded an ample harvest for these charming little animals. I saw them perpetually flying over the flowers, on which they feed without ever alighting, for it is by supporting themselves on their wings that they insinuate their beaks into the calix of the flowers. Sometimes they perch, but it is only for a moment ; it is then only one has an opportunity of admiring the beauty of their plumage, especially when opposite to the sun, and when in removing their heads, they display the brilliant enamel of their red necks, which almost rival the splendor of the ruby or the diamond. It is not true that they are naturally passionate, and that they tear to pieces the flowers in which they find no honey. I have never observed any such circumstance myself, either at Westover or Williamsburgh ; and the inhabitants of the country assured me, that they had never made any such observation. These birds  
appear



appear only with the flowers, with which likewise they disappear, and no person can tell what becomes of them. Some are of opinion that they hide themselves, and remain torpid the remainder of the year. In fact, it is difficult to conceive how their wings, which are so slight and slender as to be imperceptible if not in motion, could possibly resist the winds, and transport them to distant climates. They are not intractable, for I have seen one of them, which was taken a few days before, in no wise frightened at the persons who looked at it, but flew about the room, as in a garden, and sucked the flowers which they presented to it; but it did not live above a week. These birds are so fond of motion, that it is impossible for them to live without the enjoyment of the most unrestrained liberty. It is difficult even to catch them, unless they happen, as was the case with that I am speaking of, to fly into the chamber, or be driven there by the wind. An inhabitant of the country, who amused himself in preserving them for his cabinet, has discovered a very ingenious method of killing, without disfiguring them. This is a very difficult

difficult undertaking; for a single grain of small shot is a cannon bullet for so small a creature. This method is to load his gun with a bladder filled with water. The explosion of this water is sufficient to knock down the humming-bird, and deprive it of motion.

The reader will certainly not accuse me of playing the orator, and reserving objects of the greatest magnitude for the end of my discourse; for I shall here conclude my journal. It is unnecessary to speak of my return to Williamsburgh, unless it be worthy of remark, that the *Chickahoming*, which is only a secondary river, since it falls into that of James, is yet so wide, six miles from its conflux, that I was three quarters of an hour in passing it. But if he will still favour me with his attention, I shall terminate this long narrative of a short journey, by some observations on a country I have travelled through, and inhabited long enough to know it thoroughly.

The Virginians differ essentially from the inhabitants to the north and eastward of the Bay, (of Chesapeak) not only in the nature of their climate, that of their soil,  
and

and the objects of cultivation peculiar to it, but in that indelible character which is imprinted on every nation at the moment of its origin, and which by perpetuating itself from generation to generation, justifies the following great principles, that *every thing which is, partakes of that which has been.* The discovery of Virginia dates from the end of the sixteenth century, and the settlement of the colony took place at the commencement of the seventeenth. These events passed in the reigns of Elizabeth and James the first. The republican and democratical spirit was not then common in England; that of commerce and navigation was scarcely in its infancy; and the long wars with France and Spain had perpetuated, under another form, the same military cast given to the nation by William the Conqueror, Richard, Coeur de Lion, Edward the third, and the Black Prince. There were no longer any Knights Errant, as in the time of the Croisades, but in their place arose a number of adventurers who served indifferently their own country, and foreign powers, and gentlemen, who disdaining agriculture and commerce, had no other profession but that  
of

of arms; for at that period the military spirit maintained the prejudices favourable to that nobility, from which it was long inseparable; besides that the dignity of the peerage, from being less common in England, gave more eclat and more consistence to those who possessed it by hereditary right. The first colonists of Virginia were composed, in great measure, of such soldiers, and such gentlemen, some of whom went in search of fortune, and others, of adventures. And in fact, if the establishment of a colony requires all the industry of the merchant and the cultivator, the discovery, and conquest of unknown countries seems more peculiarly adapted to the ideas of the warlike and romantic. Accordingly the first company which obtained the exclusive property of Virginia, was principally composed of men the most distinguished by their rank or birth; and though all these illustrious proprietors did not actually become colonists, several of them were not afraid to pass the seas; and a *Lord Delaware* was amongst the first Governors of Virginia. It was natural therefore for these new colonists, who were filled with military principles,



ciples, and the prejudices of nobility, to carry them into the midst even of the savages whose lands they were usurping; and of all our European ideas, these were what the unpolished tribes most readily conceived. I know that there now remains but an inconsiderable number of these ancient families, but they have retained a great estimation, and the first impulse once given, it is not in the power of any legislator, nor even of time itself, wholly to destroy its effect. The government may become democratic, as it is at the present moment; but the national character, the spirit of the government itself, will be always aristocratic. Nor can this be doubted, when we take into consideration another cause, co-operating with the former; I mean to speak of slavery; not that it is any mark of distinction, or peculiar privilege to possess negroes, but because the empire men exercise over them cherishes vanity and sloth, two vices which accord wonderfully with the already established prejudices. It will, doubtless, be asked, how these prejudi-

ces have been brought to coincide with a revolution founded on such different principles. I shall answer that they have even perhaps contributed to produce it. That whilst the revolt of New England was the result of reason and calculation, pride possibly had no inconsiderable share in dictating the measures of Virginia. I shall add, what I have above hinted, that in the beginning, even the indolence of this people may have been useful to them, as it obliged them to rely upon a small number of virtuous and enlightened citizens, who led them farther than they would have proceeded, without a guide, had they consulted only their own dispositions. For it must be allowed, that Virginia stepped forth with a good grace, at the very commencement of the troubles; that she was the first to offer succours to the Bostonians, and the first also to set on foot a considerable body of troops. But it may likewise be observed, that as soon as the new legislature was established, and when, instead of leaders, she had a government, the mass of citizens was taking

taking part in that government, the national character prevailed, and every thing went worse and worse. Thus, states, like individuals, are born with a particular complexion, the bad effects of which may be corrected by regimen and habits, but can never be entirely changed. Thus, legislators, like physicians, ought never to flatter themselves that they can bestow, at pleasure, a particular temperament on bodies politic, but strive to discover what they already have, and thence study to remedy the inconveniencies, and multiply the advantages resulting from it. A general glance at the different States of America will serve to justify this opinion. The people of New England had no other motive for settling in the New World, than to escape from the arbitrary power of their monarchs, who, at once, sovereigns of the state, and heads of the church, exercised at that period the double tyranny of despotism and intolerance. They were not adventurers, they were men who wished to live in peace, and who laboured for their subsistence. Their

principles taught them equality, and disposed them to industrious pursuits. The soil, naturally barren, affording them but scanty resources, they attached themselves to fishing and navigation; and at this hour, they are still friends to equality and industry; they are fishermen and navigators. The states of New-York, and the Jerseys, were peopled by necessitous Dutchmen who wanted land in their own country, and occupied themselves more about domestic œconomy than the public government. These people have preserved the same character; their interests, their efforts, so to speak, are personal; their views are concentrated in their families, and it is only from necessity that these families are formed into a State. Accordingly, when General Burgoyne was on his march to Albany, the New Englandmen chiefly contributed to impede his progress; and, if the inhabitants of the State of New-York and of the Jerseys have often taken arms, and displayed courage, it is because the former were animated by an inveterate hatred against the savages,



savages, which generally preceded the English armies \*, and the latter were excited

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to

\* The employing the Indians, independent of the measure, it is now pretty generally admitted, produced consequences directly opposite to the interest of Great Britain; uniting the inhabitants of all the countries liable to their incursions as one man against them and their allies, and producing such bloody scenes of inveterate animosity and vengeance as make human nature shudder. The following narrative will prove how far men of all casts, colours, and religions, resemble each other in similar situations, and to what lengths even the christians of an enlightened age can go, when compelled to act under the guidance of the worst passions. The inhabitants of the back frontiers of Pennsylvania, goaded to fury by the ravages committed on them by the Indians, and by the murder of their families and kindred, collected the militia in the beginning of 1782, and took the field against their savage intruders. In one of their excursions they fell in with a small tribe of christian Indians, called the *Muskingums*, who being suspected of attachment to the Americans, had been for some time confined at Detroit, and were released only on condition of observing a strict neutrality, since they could not be persuaded to take arms. These unhappy wretches, to the number of about two hundred, returning to their habitations, were employed in putting their seed-corn into the ground, when they were surpris- ed by the American militia. In vain did they urge

to take personal vengeance for the excesses committed by the troops of the enemy,  
when

their situation, and their sufferings from the British; they were *Indians*, and their captors, men who had lost sons, brothers, fathers, wives or children in this horrid war; no other plea was necessary to palliate their meditated vengeance. The Indians were shut up in a barn, and ordered to prepare for death, but with this barbarous consolation, that, as they were converted christians, they should be allowed a respite till the next morning. The innocent victims spent the night in singing Moravian hymns, and in other acts of christian devotion; and in the morning were led, men, women, and children, to the slaughter, and butchered by their fellow worshippers of the meek Jesus! The Moravians at Bethlehem and Nazareth, whose missionaries had converted them, made strong representations to Congress on the subject. I was at Philadelphia when the news arrived; and it is but justice to say, that horror was painted on every countenance, and every mind was at work to devise expedients for avenging this atrocious murder; but after various efforts, both Congress and the Assembly of the State were found unequal to the punishment of these assassins, who were armed, distant from the seat of government, the only safeguard and protection of the frontiers, and from their own savage nature alone fit to cope with the dreadful enemy brought into action by the British.

when they over-ran the country \*. If you go further to the south, and pass the Delaware, you will find that the government of Pennsylvania, in its origin, was founded on two very opposite principles; it was a government of property, a government in itself feudal, or, if you will, patriarchal, but the spirit of which was the greatest toleration, and the most compleat liberty. *Penn's* family at first formed the vain project of establishing a sort of *Utopia*, or perfect government, and afterwards of deriving the greatest possible advantage from their immense property, by attracting foreigners from all parts. Here it arises that the people of Pennsylvania have no characteristic assimilation, that they are intermingled and confounded, and more actuated to individual, than to public liberty, more inclined to anarchy

\* The murder committed on *Mrs. Maxwell*, the wife of a respectable and popular clergyman in the Jerseys, and afterwards on himself, with similar acts of cruelty perpetrated by a licentious soldiery, and unprincipled refugees, inflamed the minds of a great body of the inhabitants, particularly of the Dutch

chy than to democracy\*. Maryland, subjected in the first instance to a proprietary government,

and their descendants, who, as the Marquis observes, were certainly disposed at least to a neutrality.

TRANSLATOR.

\* The Irish and the Germans form the most numerous part of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania. The latter, if I am not mistaken, constitutes a fifth, if not a fourth, of the whole number, and are a most useful, industrious body of men, well versed in the mechanic arts and agriculture. I have travelled several days in the interior parts of that state, and heard scarcely any other language than German, the acts of Congress, and the State are promulgated in that language, German Gazettes are published at Philadelphia, and in general they proved themselves true friends to the revolution. Congress availing themselves of this circumstance, very politically encamped the Brunswick, and other German troops taken with Burgoyne, near the town of Reading, where I saw them. The neighbourhood abounding with their countrymen, the men had permission to work at harvest, and other trades, and soon formed connexions with the females of the country. Calculating their market price, and the obligation they lay under to restore them, or their prime cost, they took every measure to prevent them from remaining in the country; for which purpose, they transmitted but small sums at a time by their commissaries from New-York, taking care to keep large arrears in their hands, as a



vernment, and considered only as a private domain, remained long in a state of the most absolute dependence. This is the first time she merits to be regarded as a state ; but this state seems to be forming under good auspices ; she may become of great weight after the present revolution, because she was formerly of no significance. The two Carolinas and Georgia are next to be considered ; but I am not sufficiently acquainted with these three states to hazard on them any observations, which may not be so just in fact as they appear to me ; but which are at least of a delicate nature, and require more than a superficial examination. I only know, that North Carolina, peopled by Scotsmèn, brought thither by poverty, rather than by industry, is a prey to acts of pillage, and to internal

diffen-  
temptation for their return. But all these precautions were, as may naturally be imagined, but of a partial effect, with men habituated to a country of freedom, wherein they felt themselves restored to their natural rights, and animated by the example of their countrymèn, enjoying the full comforts of their honest industry ; contrasted too with the degraded state of a wretched mercenary, held up to sale by his arbitrary master,

TRANSLATOR.

diffentions\* : that South Carolina, possessing a commerce, wholly of exportation,

owes

\* It is true that a great number of Scotsmen are settled in North Carolina, but that they were not even the majority of the inhabitants, is very apparent from the events of the late revolution ; for the Scots, though loyalists nearly to a man, were repeatedly defeated, and finally crushed by the militia of the country. Notwithstanding her efforts appeared less concentrated, and more vaguely directed, owing to the local circumstances of the province, and the dispersed state of the inhabitants, rather than disinclination to the cause, North Carolina rendered most essential services, by her exertions in the field, and the Delegates she sent to Congress. Her constitution of government, contracted as it is, is not perhaps inferior to many in the confederacy, and bespeaks the wisdom of " the enlightened few," to which the Marquis attributes the wise councils of Virginia. It was the North Carolina militia which gave the first turn to the ruined affairs of America to the southward, by their spirited attack and defeat of Colonel Fergusson at King's Mountain. The Translator, who was then in England, received, by a private channel, the first intelligence of that important event, which he communicated to the public ; but the circumstances of the surprise of a large body of British troops, flushed with the capture of Charlestown, and the victory at Camden, by a body

owes its existence to its sea-ports, especially to that of Charlestown, which has rapidly increased,

of 1600 *horsemen*, from the back country of North Carolina, appeared so extraordinary, that he could not obtain credit for the fact, either with the friends to America, or the ministerial party in that country. The Ministers had no intelligence of the matter, and the easterly winds then happening to prevail for a period of six weeks, it was treated as a fiction, both in and out of Parliament, and the Translator as an enthusiast or a fabricator of false news. Time, however, verified the fact, which he knew to be authentic, to its full extent, viz. that Colonel Fergusson, with eight hundred British troops, had been surprized; himself slain, and his whole force defeated by sixteen hundred Carolina militia, mounted on horseback, hastily collected, and commanded by a few militia Colonels! This spirited and successful enterprize, with its consequences, merits certainly a conspicuous place in the history of this great revolution; for, like the surprize at Trenton, it changed the whole face of affairs, and restored energy to the friends of America in that important seat of war.

North Carolina is a very fine country, beautifully diversified with pleasant hills, large vallies, and noble rivers, though none of them is navigable for vessels above 80 tons, except the rivers Fear and Clarendon; yet as they intersect the country in every direction, they are admirably calculated for inland navigation. There are, for this reason, no large towns,

creased, and is become a commercial town, in which strangers abound, as at Marseilles and Amsterdam\*: that the manners there are consequently polished and easy: that the inhabitants love pleasure, the arts, and society; and that this country is more European in its manners than any in America.

Now, if there be any accuracy in this sketch, let me desire the reader to compare the spirit of the American States with their present government. I desire him to  
form

but from the various produce of this state, and the rapid increase of population, the white inhabitants, now amounting to near two hundred thousand; there is every reason to believe that it will become not one of the least considerable on the continent, nor will the philosopher view the circumstances which forbid the formation of large towns, as an evil, either in this country or in Virginia. TRANSLATOR.

\* The author here refers to the former situation of the province; but, as I have already mentioned, the interior of this extensive state is daily peopling with a race of healthy, industrious planters, and is highly susceptible of every species of improvement. As for sea-ports, there are none worth mentioning but Charlestown; and as for Georgia, its position is in every respect similar to that of South Carolina.

TRANSLATOR.



form the comparison at the present moment, in twenty, or in fifty years hence, and I am persuaded, that since all these governments resemble each other, as they are all democratical, he will still discover the traces of that original character, of that spirit which presides at the formation of people, and at the establishment of nations.

Virginia will retain this discriminating character longer than the other States; whether it be that prejudices are more durable, the more absurd, and the more frivolous they are, or that those which injure a part only of the human race, are more subject to remark than those which affect all mankind. In the present revolution, the ancient families have seen, with pain, new men occupying distinguished situations in the army, and in the magistracy; and the Tories have even hence drawn advantages, to cool the ardour of the less zealous of the Whigs. But the popular party have maintained their ground, and it is only to be regretted that they have not displayed the same activity in combating the English, as in disputing precedences. It is to be apprehended,

ed, however, that circumstances becoming less favourable to them, on a peace, they may be obliged entirely to give way, or to support themselves by factions, which must necessarily disturb the order of society. But if Reason ought to blush at beholding such prejudices so strongly established amongst a new people, Humanity has still more to suffer from the state of poverty, in which a great number of white people lives in Virginia. It is in this country that I saw poor persons, for the first time, after I passed the sea ; for, in the midst of those rich plantations, where the negro alone is wretched, miserable huts are often to be met with, inhabited by whites, whose wane looks, and ragged garments, bespeak poverty. At first I was puzzled to explain to myself, how, in a country where there is still so much land to clear, men who do not refuse to work, should remain in misery ; but I have since learned, that all these useless territories, these immense estates, with which Virginia is covered, have their proprietors. Nothing is more common than to see some of them possessing five or six thousand acres of  
land,

land, who clear out only as much as their negroes can cultivate ; yet will they not give, nor even sell the smallest portion of them, because they form a part of their possessions, and they are in hopes of one day augmenting the number of their negroes. These white men, without fortune, and frequently without industry, are straitened, therefore, on every side, and reduced to the small number of acres they are able to acquire. Now, the land not being good in general in America\*, especially in Virginia, a considerable number of them is necessary,  
in

\* The land, *within the mountains*, in the hitherto settled parts of North America, are not in general very good, and it is of these only that the Marquis speaks ; but as the authors of the *Nouvelle Encyclopedie* observe, in their *new article* of the *United States*, this must have been the case in almost every new country, the soil of Europe having been meliorated by the progress of population, the quantity of manure, and the means by which the earth is protected from the effects of heavy rains, &c. by care and cultivation. Abbé Raynal's remarks on this subject, in his last work, called the *Revolution of America*, discover so much ignorance as scarcely to merit the elaborate discussion bestowed on them by the ingenious authors of the *Encyclopedie*, who have

in order to clear it with success, because they are the cattle from which the cultivator derives his aid and his subsistence. To the eastward are a great number of cleared grounds, but the portions of land which are easily purchased there, and for almost nothing, consist always of at least two hundred acres; besides, that to the southward, the climate is less healthy, and the new settlers, without partaking of the wealth of Virginia, share all the inconveniencies of the climate, and even the indolence it inspires\*.

Beneath

likewise transcribed from him several important passages, which have been ably and fully refuted by Mr. Payne.

TRANSLATOR.

\* The indolence and dissipation of the middling and lower classes of white inhabitants of Virginia, are such as to give pain to every reflecting mind. Horse-racing, cock-fighting, and boxing-matches, are standing amusements, for which they neglect all business; and in the latter of which they conduct themselves with a barbarity worthy of their savage neighbours. The ferocious practice of stage-boxing in England, is urbanity, compared with the Virginian mode of fighting. In their combats, unless specially precluded, they are admitted (to use their own term) "to bite, b-l-l--ck, and goudge," which operations, when the first onset with fists is over, consists in fastening



Beneath this class of inhabitants, we must place the negroes, whose situation would be still

on the nose or ears of their adversaries with their teeth, seizing him by the genitals, and dexterously scooping out an eye ; on which account it is no uncommon circumstance to meet men in the prime of youth, deprived of one of those organs. This is no traveller's exaggeration, I speak from knowledge and observation. In the summer months it is very common to make a party on horseback to a limestone spring, near which there is usually some little hut with spirituous liquors, if the party are not themselves provided, where their debauch frequently terminates in a boxing-match, a horse-race, or perhaps both. During a day's residence at Leeburg, I was myself accidentally drawn into one of these parties, where I soon experienced the strength of the liquor, which was concealed by the refreshing coolness of the water. While we were seated round the spring, at the edge of a delightful wood, four or five countrymen arrived, headed by a veteran cyclops, the terror of the neighbourhood, ready on every occasion to risk his remaining eye. We soon found ourselves under the necessity of relinquishing our posts, and making our escape from these fellows, who evidently sought to provoke a quarrel. On our return home, whilst I was rejoicing at our good fortune, and admiring the moderation of my company, we arrived at a plain spot of ground by a wood side, on which my horse no sooner set foot, than taking the bit between his teeth, off he went at full speed, at-

still more lamentable, did not their natural insensibility extenuate, in some degree, the sufferings annexed to slavery. On seeing them ill lodged, ill cloathed, and often oppressed with labour, I concluded that their treatment was as rigorous as elsewhere. I have been assured, however, that it is extremely mild, in comparison with what they suffer in the sugar colonies; and, in truth, you do not usually hear, as at Saint Domingo,

tended by the hoops and hallowings of my companions. An Englishman is not easily thrown off his guard on horseback; but at the end of half a mile my horse stopped short, as if he had been shot, and threw me with considerable violence over his head; my buckle, for I was without boots, entangled me in the stirrup, but fortunately broke into twenty pieces. The company rode up, delighted with the adventure; and it was then, for the first time, I discovered that I had been purposely induced, by one of my *friends*, to change horses with him for the afternoon; that his horse had been accustomed to similar exploits on the same *race ground*; that the whole of the business was neither more nor less than a Virginian piece of pleasantry; and that my friends thought they had exhibited great moderation in not exposing me, at the spring, to the effects of "*biting, b-ll--king, and goudging.*" TRANSLATOR.

Domingo, and Jamaica, the sound of whips, and the cries of the unhappy wretches whose bodies they are tearing to pieces\*. This arises from the general character of the

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Virginians,

\* During the Translator's residence in the West Indies, he took considerable pains to inform himself of the different modes of treatment of the negroes, by the principal European nations, possessing colonies in that quarter of the globe, the result of which was, that the Dutch are the most cruel; the English more humane; the French still more so; and the Spaniards the most indulgent masters. He was greatly struck with this gradation, the truth of which seemed to be confirmed by his own observations; but he leaves it to others to decide what influence the various forms of government, and the religious principles or prejudices of each of these nations, may have in the operation of this seeming paradox. A lover of truth will never shrink from the discussion of any question interesting to humanity, whatever be his political or religious bias. The Translator, from impulse, and from reason, is a strenuous assertor of the rights and original equality of mankind; but it is an old remark, that Republicans are the worst masters, a position which pursued through the above succession, seems in some measure to receive a confirmation; yet to him appears unaccountable from any given principles, unless it be the aristocratic principles, which, to the misfortune of mankind, have hitherto uniformly taken possession of all

the

Virginians, which is more mild than that of the inhabitants of the sugar islands, who consist almost entirely of rapacious men, eager and pressing to make fortunes to return to Europe. Another reason is, that the produce of their culture not being of so much value, labour is not urged on them with so much severity; and, to do justice to both, it is because the negroes, on their side, are not so much addicted to cheating and thieving as in the islands. For the propagation of the black species being very rapid, and very considerable here, the greatest part of the negroes are born in the country; and it is remarked that they are generally less depraved than those imported from Africa. I must likewise do the Virginians the justice to declare, that many of them treat their negroes with great humanity. I must add likewise, a still more honourable testimony,

the republican governments, and baffled the foresight of the virtuous and good. But there is reason to hope that the democracies of America will form a brilliant and consoling exception to the triumphant reproaches of the idolators of regal power.

TRANSLATOR.



ny, that in general they seem afflicted to have any slavery, and are constantly talking of abolishing it, and of contriving some other means of cultivating their estates. It is true that this opinion, which is almost generally received, is inspired by different motives. The philosophers, and the young men, who are almost all educated in the principles of a sound philosophy\*, regard nothing but justice, and the rights of humanity. The fathers of families, and such as are principally occupied with schemes of interest, complain that the maintenance of their negroes is very expensive; that their labour is neither so productive nor so cheap, as that of day labourers, or white servants; and, lastly, that epidemical disorders, which are very common, render both their property and their revenue extremely precari-

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ous.

\* The truth is, that the prevalent religion of the principal inhabitants in America, and particularly to the Southward, is *pure deism*, called by the name of Philosophy in Europe, a spirit which has contributed in no small degree to the revolution, and produced their unfettered constitutions of freedom and toleration.

TRANSLATOR.

ous. However this may be, it is fortunate that different motives concur in disgusting men with that tyranny which they exercise upon their fellow creatures at least, if not people entirely of the same species ; for the more we regard the negroes, the more must we be persuaded that the difference between them and us, consists in something more than complexion. As for the rest, it cannot be denied that it is a very delicate point to abolish slavery in America. The negroes in Virginia amount to two hundred thousand. They equal at least, if they do not exceed, the number of white men. Necessarily united by interest, by the conformity of their situation, and the similarity of colour, they would unquestionably form a distinct people, from whom neither succour, virtue, nor labour, could be expected. Sufficient attention has not been paid to the difference between slavery, such as it exists in our colonies, and the slavery which was generally established among the ancients. A white slave had no other cause of humiliation, than his actual state ; on his being freed, he mixed immediately with free men, and

and became their equal. Hence that emulation among the slaves to obtain their liberty, either as a favour, or to purchase it with the fruit of their labour. There were two advantages in this; the possibility of enfranchising them without danger, and that ambition which almost generally took place among them, and turned to the advantage of morals, and of industry. But in the present case, it is not only the slave who is beneath his master, it is the negro who is beneath the white man. No act of enfranchisement can efface this unfortunate distinction; accordingly we do not see the negroes very anxious to obtain their freedom, nor much pleased when they have obtained it. The free negroes continue to live with the negro slaves, and never with the white men, inso-much that interest alone makes them desirous of quitting slavery, when they are endowed with a particular industry, of which they wish to reap the profits. It appears, therefore, that there is no other method of abolishing slavery, than by getting rid of the negroes, a measure which must be very gradually adopted. The best expedient  
would

would be to export a great number of males, and to encourage the marriage of white men with the females. For this purpose the law must be abrogated which transmits slavery by the side of the mother; or it might be enacted, that every female slave shall become, *ipso facto*, free, by marrying a free man. From respect to property, perhaps it might be just to require of the latter, a compensation to be fixed by law, to be paid either in labour or in money, as an indemnity to the proprietors of the negroes; but it is certain, at all events, that such a law, aided by the illicit, but already well established commerce between the white men and negroes, could not fail of giving birth to a race of mullattoes, which would produce another of *Quarterons*, and so on until the colour should be totally effaced.

But I have enlarged sufficiently on this subject, which has not escaped the policy and philosophy of the present age. I have only to apologize for not having treated it with *declamation*; but it has always been my opinion that eloquence can influence only the resolutions of the moment, and  
that



that every thing which can only be effected by time alone, must be the result of reason ; it is not difficult, however, to add ten or a dozen pages to these reflections, which are to be considered as a symphony composed only of the principal parts, *con corni ad libitum*.

We have seen the inconveniencies of slavery, and of the too extensive possession of territory in Virginia ; let us now examine the inconsiderable number of advantages arising from them. The Virginians have the reputation, and with reason, of living nobly in their houses, and of being hospitable ; they give strangers not only a willing, but a liberal reception. This arises, on one hand, from their having no large towns, where they may assemble, by which means they are little acquainted with society, except from the visits they make ; and, on the other, their lands and their negroes furnishing them with every article of consumption, and the necessary service, this renowned hospitality costs them very little. Their houses are spacious, and ornamented, but their apartments are not  
 commo-

commodious ; they make no ceremony of putting three or four persons into the same room\* ; nor do these make any objection to their being thus heaped together ; for being in general ignorant of the comfort of reading and writing, they want nothing in their whole house but a bed, a dining-room, and a drawing-room for company. The chief magnificence of the Virginians consists in furniture, linen, and plate ; in which they resemble our ancestors, who had neither cabinets nor wardrobes in their castles, but contented themselves with a well-stored cellar, and a handsome buffet. If they sometimes dissipate their fortunes, it is by gaming, hunting, and horse-races† ; but the

\* Throughout America, in private houses, as well as in the inns, several people are crowded together in the same room ; and in the latter it very commonly happens, that after you have been some time in bed, a stranger of any condition, (for there is little distinction) comes into the room, pulls off his clothes, and places himself, without ceremony, between your sheets.

TRANSLATOR.

† I have already spoken of horse races, but it is with regret I add, that the general spirit of gaming is prevalent in this as well as in all the United States, but

the latter are of some utility, inasmuch as they encourage the breed of horses, which are really very handsome in Virginia. We see that the women have little share in the amusements of the men ; beauty here serves only to procure them husbands ; for the most wealthy planters, giving but a small fortune with their daughters, their fate is usually decided by their figure. The consequence of this is, that they are often pert and coquettish before, and sorrowful helpmates after marriage. The luxury of being served by slaves still farther augments their natural indolence ; they are always surrounded by a great number of them, for their own service, and that of their children, whom they content themselves with suckling only. They, as well as their husbands, pay attention to them when young, and neglect them when grown up. We may say in general of the Americans, as of the English, that they are  
very

but more particularly throughout the southern ones, which has already been attended with suicide, and all its baneful consequences.

TRANSLATOR.

very fond of their *infants*, and care little for their *children*. It would be a delicate discussion, perhaps, to enquire, whether this be really a natural sentiment, and whether our conduct, which is very different, be not the result of self-love, or of ambition; but we may safely affirm, that the care we take of ours, is a means of attaching ourselves to them, and of ensuring their reciprocal attachment; a sentiment the nobleness and utility of which cannot be contested\*.

I was desirous of celebrating the virtues peculiar to the Virginians, and in spite of my wishes, I am obliged to limit myself to their magnificence and hospitality. It is not in my power to add generosity; for they are strongly attached to their interests; and their great riches, joined to their pretensions, gives more deformity to this vice. I

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\* I confess myself at a loss to discover from what source of observation the author has derived the fact on which he reasons so ingeniously. Perhaps it is the secret spirit of national prejudice that has led me, who was born an Englishman, to reverse the remark, as applied to the two countries of France and England; but I leave the fact and the discussion to more acute observers.



ought, in the first instance, to have treated of the article of religion ; but there is nothing remarkable respecting it in this country, except the facility with which they dispense with it. The established religion, previous to the Revolution, was that of the Church of England, which we know requires Episcopacy, and that every Priest must be ordained by a Bishop. Before the war, persons destined to the Church, went to England, to study and to be ordained. It is impossible, therefore, in the present circumstances, to supply the vacancies of the Pastors who drop off. What has been the consequence of this ? That the churches have remained shut ; the people have done without a Pastor, and not a thought has been employed towards any settlement of an English church, independent of England\*. The most complete toleration is established ; but the other communions have

\* During the war there was a great scarcity of Ministers of the Episcopal Church, on account of the numbers of that body who attached themselves to England, which was pretty generally the case ; but after the peace, many young Americans, distinguished

have made no acquisition from the losses of the former ; each sect has remained in its original situation ; and this sort of religious interregnum, has been productive of no disorder. The clergy have besides received a severe check in the new constitution, which excludes them from all share in the government, even from the right of voting at elections.

guished for the gown, finding a repugnance on the part of the English Bishops, got ordained by the Nonjuring Bishops in Scotland. An act has at length passed, however, to authorize the ordination of Foreign Clergy by the English Bishops, which is evidently intended to promote the cause of the Hierarchy in the United States. I shall here take the opportunity of mentioning, that on account of the great scarcity of Bibles, a new edition was published by one Aikin, a printer, of Philadelphia, by order of Congress, under the inspection of the Reverend Mr. White, brother-in-law to Mr. Morris, and the other Chaplain to that body ; but such are ancient prejudices, that very few of the zealous followers either of Luther or of Calvin, could be brought to look upon it as the genuine old book. The wary devotees, dreaded, no doubt, similar errors to that for which the Company of Stationers were mulcted in the time of King Charles ; the omission of the *negative* in one of the Commandments, by printing “ Thou *shalt* do murder.” TRANSLATOR.

elections. It is true that the judges and lawyers are subjected to the same exclusion, but that is from another motive ; to prevent the public interest from falling into competition with that of individuals. The legislator dreaded the re-action of these interests ; it has been thought proper, in short, to form a sort of separate body in the State, under the name of the Judicial Body. These general views are perhaps salutary in themselves ; but they are attended with an inconvenience at the present moment ; for the lawyers, who are certainly the most enlightened part of the community, are removed from the civil councils, and the administration is entrusted either to ignorant, or to the least skilful men. This is the principal objection made in the country to the present form of government, which to me appears excellent in many respects. It is every where in print, and easily to be procured ; but I shall endeavour to give a sketch of it in a few words. It is composed, 1<sup>st</sup>. Of the Assembly of Deputies, named by the cities and counties, a body corresponding with the House of Commons. 2<sup>dly</sup>. Of a Senate,

Senate, the members of which are elected by several united counties, in a greater or less number, according to the population of the counties, which answers to the House of Peers. 3dly. Of an Executive Council, of which the Governor is president, and the members chosen by the two Chambers; a substitute for the executive power of the King in England\*.

It is not by accident that I have postponed the consideration of every thing respecting the progress of the Arts and Sciences in this country, until the conclusion of my reflections on Virginia; I have done it expressly because the mind, after bestowing its attention on the variety of human institutions, reposes itself with pleasure on those which tend to the perfection of the understanding, and the progress of information; and above all, because having found myself under the necessity of speaking less advantageously

\* See the Constitutions of the different States, republished in England by the Reverend Mr. Jackson, and the excellent translation from the original, with notes, published in Paris by the *Duke de la Rochefoucault*.



tageously of this State than I wished to have done, I am happy to conclude with an article, which is wholly in their commendation. The College of William and Mary, whose founders are announced by the very name, is a noble establishment which embellishes Williamsburg, and does honour to Virginia. The beauty of the edifice is surpassed by the richness of its library, and that, still farther by the distinguished merit of several of the Professors, such as the Doctors *Maddison*, *Wythe*, *Bellini*, &c. &c. who may be regarded as living books, at once affording precepts and examples. I must likewise add, that the zeal of these Professors has been crowned with the most distinguished success, and that they have already formed many distinguished characters, ready to serve their country in the various departments of government. Amongst these, it is with pleasure I mention Mr. *Short*, with whom I was particularly connected. After doing justice to the exertions of the *University* of Williamsburg, for such is the College of Wil-

liam and Mary ; if it be necessary for its further glory to cite miracles, I shall only observe that they created me a Doctor of Laws.

*Williamsburg,*  
*1st of May 1782.*

*A Journey*

*A Journey into New Hampshire, the State  
of Massachussets, and Upper Pensylvania.*

THE Baron de Viomenil having joined the army in the beginning of October, I ought to have resigned to him of course the command of the first division, so that I had now no necessary occupation, unless I had chosen to take the command of the second division, in which case I must have superseded the Comte de Viomenil, which was far from my intention ; it depended upon myself, therefore, to return to Philadelphia, to wait for Mr. de Rochambeau, who was expected there, after marching his troops to the eastward ; but my departure would have too plainly discovered the intention of embarking them, which it was wished to keep a secret, at least until they had reached Hartford. The Comte de Viomenil, on the other hand, being desirous of visiting Saratoga, the Baron de Viomenil requested me to retain the command of the first, whilst

he took that of the second division. I consented, therefore, to sacrifice another listless and fatiguing fortnight, and marched with the troops to Hartford\*. I submitted also

\* The Translator attended the French army on their march, nearly the whole way, from Alexandria to the North River, and was a witness to their strict discipline, and the surprizing harmony between them and the people of the country, to whom they gave not the slightest reason of complaint. He insists the more on this fact, as it appears to him no less singular than interesting. On their arrival at their quarters on the march, the whole country came to see them, and it was a general scene of gaiety and good humour. When they encamped at Alexandria, on the ground formerly occupied by Braddock, the most elegant and handsome young ladies of the neighbourhood danced with the officers on the turf, in the middle of the camp, to the sound of military music; and, (a circumstance which will appear singular to European ideas,) the circle was in a great measure composed of soldiers, who, from the heat of the weather, had disengaged themselves from their cloaths, retaining not an article of dress except their shirts, which in general were neither extremely long, nor in the best condition; nor did this occasion the least embarrassment to the ladies, many of whom were of highly polished manners, and the most exquisite delicacy; or to their friends or parents; so whimsical and arbitrary are manners.

TRANSLATOR,



also not to return to the southward, before Mr. de Rochambeau, and to accompany him thither after seeing them embarked. I determined, however, to avail myself of these circumstances to visit the upper part of the State of Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, which I had not yet seen. With this view I set out from Hartford the 4th of November, the very day the Comte de Rochambeau marched with the first division to encamp at Bolton\*. It was two in the afternoon when I got on horseback; my companions were Messieurs Lynch, de Montesquieu, the Baron de Taleyrand, and Mr. de Vaudreuil. We followed the Bolton route to a cross road, about three miles be-

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\* The French army, at the time the Marquis speaks of, had been for some time encamped at Crompton, near Cortland's manor, a few miles from that of General Washington's, and between which there was a daily intercourse. The Translator dined, in October 1782, in General Washington's tent, with the Marquis de Laval, the Baron de Viomenil, and several French officers, within hearing of the British guns, which were at that period happily become a *brutum fulmen*.

TRANSLATOR.

yond the Meeting-house, where there is a stone for the traveller's direction. We here took to the left, to reach Mr. Kendal's tavern, in the township of *Coventry*, seventeen miles from Bolton, and four from the cross roads. In a quarter of an hour we met Mr. Kendal, who was on horseback, carrying letters to Mr. de Rochambeau, from the Marquis de Vaudreuil, our Admiral; for this route, which is the shortest between Bolton and Hartford, was preferred for the chain of expresses between the fleet, the army, and Philadelphia. Mr. de Montesquieu returned with him to Bolton, to know whether these letters contained any interesting intelligence. As we travelled slowly, he rejoined us in half an hour, and informed us, that they were only answers to those he had received from the army, with the state of the troops to be embarked. Before we reached Mr. Kendal's, we passed a hut which scarcely merited the name of a *boghouse*, and was only half covered, but which was inhabited by a man who accosted us in French; he was a labourer from Canada, who had frequently  
changed

changed habitations, and had seven children. We were well lodged and treated at Mr. Kendal's, who is above the common class, and is more occupied in commerce than in farming; he sat down to table with us, and we were pleased with his conversation.

We set out at half past eight in the morning of the 5th, and travelled through a very agreeable and variegated country, presenting us every moment with the view of handsome habitations. The face of the country is unequal, but the hills are neither high nor steep. We stopped to bait our horses at Mr. Clark's tavern, in *Ashford* township, by the side of the rivulet of *Mounthope*, on this side of a river marked in the chart by the name of *Monchoas*, and of a branch of that river called *Bigslack*. We left this place at two o'clock, the country still continuing to be pleasant. I was particularly struck with the position of *Woodstock*-meeting, which is placed on an eminence, commanding a very gay and well-peopled country. There are several inns around this meeting, but we went  
three

three miles and a half further, to Mrs. Chandler's. Our journey this day, was thirty-three miles, it being seventeen from *Clark's* to *Chandler's tavern*. This house is kept by a widow, who was from home, and Mr. Lynch, who had preceded us, was very ill received by an old servant maid. We found him in great distress, because she would make no preparation of even killing a few chickens, before she received the orders of her mistress. Fortunately, however, the latter arrived in a quarter of an hour, in a sort of single horse chaise, and we found her very polite and obliging, she gave us a tolerable supper, and we were neatly lodged\*.

The 6th we set out at ten o'clock, having been apprized that on reaching *Oxford*, it would be necessary to enquire the road at a tavern kept by Mr. *Lord*, at twelve miles distance; but the weather being bad when we got there, we determined to stop a couple of hours until the rain ceased, which had continued the whole morning. We had two roads to chuse; that which goes through

\* This is one of the best houses I met with in America.



through *Shrewsbury* would have led us more directly to *Portsmouth* ; but I preferred that by *Grafton*, which leads to *Concord* ; that celebrated spot, where the first blood was shed, which commenced the civil war. The rain abating a little, we resumed our journey at two, and passed through *Salton*, a pretty enough place, where there are several well-built houses ; but the rain redoubling, we were obliged to halt seven miles farther on, at *Baron's* tavern, where we were well received. We dried ourselves by a good fire, in a very handsome apartment, adorned with good prints, and handsome mahogany furniture ; and finding the useful correspond with the agreeable in this house, we reconciled ourselves to the bad weather, which had forced us into such good quarters.

We left this place at nine the next morning, the road leading us through *Grafton*, after which we passed *Blackstone* river, and arrived at *Gale's* tavern, fifteen miles from *Baron's*, after a journey through a very pleasant country. I remarked that the meadows, of which there are a great number,

number, were in general intersected and watered by trenches cut on purpose. Mr. Gales informed me that these meadows were worth from ten to twenty dollars an acre; from one of which, in his possession, he reaped four tons of hay an acre. The after-grass is for the cattle, to produce butter and cheese, principally of this country. The price of meat is here about twopence-halfpenny the pound of fourteen ounces. After baiting our horses, we continued our journey, by *Marlborough*, where there are handsome houses, and more collected than in the other towns or townships. We at length entered a wood, which conducted us to the river of Concord, or *Billerika*, over which we passed by a bridge about a mile from the Meeting, and at the same distance from Mr. *John's*, where it was near nine o'clock before we arrived. This is an excellent inn, kept by a most determined Whig, who acted his part in the the affair of Concord\*. Major *Pitcairn*, who commanded the English on this occasion, had lodged

\* It took place on the 19th of April 1775. General Gage had detached from Boston all his grenadiers, light infantry, and some other troops,

lodged frequently at his house, in travelling through the country in disguise; a method he had sometimes taken, though very dangerous, of gaining information to communicate to General Gage. The day on which he headed the English troops to Concord, he arrived at seven in the morning, followed by a company of grenadiers, and went immediately to Mr. John's tavern, the door of which being shut, he knocked several times, and on the refusal to open it, ordered his grenadiers to force it. Entering it himself the first, he pushed Mr. John with such violence

amounting together to 900 men, under the orders of Lieutenant Colonel Smith, and Major Pitcairn. At Lexington they fell in with a company of Militia, whom they found under arms. The English, in a haughty tone, ordered the Americans to disperse, which they refused, and whilst the conversation was confined to words, the English fired without giving notice, and at that discharge killed seven or eight Americans, who had made no disposition to shelter themselves from the fire; they were compelled to give way to numbers. The English advanced to Concord, where they paid dearly for their violence, and this first act of hostility, for which they were alone responsible, cost them near 300 men. Major Pitcairn was slain at the battle of Bunker's Hill, a short time after the affair of Concord.

violence as to throw him down, and afterwards placed a guard over him, frequently insisting on his pointing out the magazines of the rebels. The Americans had in fact collected some cannon and warlike stores at Concord, but having received timely notice in the night, they had removed every thing into the woods, except three twenty-four pounders, which remained in the prison yard, of which Mr. John was the keeper. Major Pitcairn carrying his violence so far as to clap a pistol to his throat, Mr. John, who had himself been in a passion, grew calm, and tried to pacify the English commander. He assured him that there were only the above three pieces at Concord, and that he should see them, if he would follow him. He conducted him to the prison, where the English entered, he says, in a rage at seeing the *Yankees* so expert in mounting cannon, and in providing themselves with every thing necessary for the service of artillery, such as sponges, rammers, &c. Major Pitcairn made his men destroy the carriages, and break the trunnions; then ordered the prison to be set open,



open, where he found two prisoners, one of whom, being a Tory, he released.

The first moments of trouble and vivacity being over, Major Pitcairn returned to Mr. John's, where he breakfasted, and paid for it. The latter resumed his station of innkeeper; numbers of the English came to ask for rum, which he measured out as usual, and made them pay exactly. In the mean time, the Americans, who had passed the river in their retreat, began to rally, and to unite with those, who, apprized by the alarum bells, and various expresses, were coming to their assistance. The disposition Major Pitcairn had to make for his security, whilst he was employed in searching for, and destroying the ammunition, was by no means difficult; it was only necessary to place strong guards at the two bridges to the North, and South, which he had done. Towards ten o'clock in the morning, the firing of musquetry was heard at the North bridge, on which the English rallied at the place appointed, on a height, in a church-yard situated to the right of the road, and opposite the town house. Three hundred

hundred Americans, who were assembled on the other side of the river, descended from the heights by a winding road which leads obliquely to the bridge, but which, at sixty paces from the river, turns to the left, and comes straight upon it. Until they had reached this angle, they had their flank covered by a small stone wall; but when they came to this point, they marched up boldly to the bridge, which they found the enemy employd in breaking down. The latter fired the first, but the Americans fell upon them, and they easily gave way, which appears rather extraordinary. Mr. John affirms that the English at first imagined the Americans had no ball, but that they soon found their error, on seeing several of their soldiers wounded. They even speak here of an officer, who informed his men that they had nothing to fear, for that *the Americans fired only with powder*; but a drummer who was near him receiving at the moment a musquet shot, replied, *Take care of that powder, Captain.* The English had three men killed here, and several wounded, two of them were officers.

The

The Americans now passed the bridge, and formed immediately on a small eminence, to the left of the road, as they were situated, and at short cannon shot from that on which the English were collected. There they remained some time watching each other; but the sight of some houses on fire irritated the Americans, and determined them to march towards the English, who then retreated by the Lexington road, which forming an elbow, the Americans, who knew the country, took the string of the bow, and got up with them before they advanced a mile. It was here the retreating fight began, of which every body has seen the accounts, and which continued to Lexington, where the English were joined by the reinforcement under the command of *Earl Percy*.

It was on the morning of the 8th that I examined the field of battle at Concord, which took me up till half past ten, when I resumed my journey. Ten miles from Concord is *Bellerika*, a pretty considerable township; the country here was less fertile, and the road rather stony. We halted at  
*South*

*South Andover*, five miles beyond Billerika, at a bad inn, kept by one Forster; his wife had some beautiful children, but she appeared disordered, and I thought her rather drunk. She shewed me, with much importance, a book her eldest daughter was reading, and I found it, to my no small surprize, to be a book of prayers in Italian. This daughter, who was about seventeen, repeated also a prayer in the Indian language, of which she understood not a word, having learnt it accidentally from an Indian servant; but her mother thought all this admirable. We contented ourselves with baiting our horses in this wretched alehouse, and set out at half past one, travelled through *South and North Andover. North-Parish*, or, North Andover, is a charming place, where there are a great number of very handsome houses, a quantity of meadows, and fine cattle. Almost on quitting this long township, you enter *Bradford*, where night overtook us, and we travelled two or three miles in the dark before we reached *Haverhill* ferry. It was half past six before we had crossed it, and got to Mr. Harward's



ward's inn, where we had a good supper, and good lodgings. At Haverhill, the *Merimack* is only fit for vessels of thirty tons, but much larger ones are built here, which are floated down empty to Newbury. Three miles above Haverhill are falls, and higher up the river is only navigable for boats. The trade of this town formerly consisted in timber for ship-building, which has been suspended since the war. It is pretty considerable, and tolerably well built; and its situation, in the form of an amphitheatre on the left shore of the *Merimack*, gives it many agreeable aspects.

We left this place the 9th, at nine in the morning, our road lying through *Plaflow*, a pretty considerable township; after which we met with woods, and a wild and horrid country. We saw a great number of pines and epicias; there are also several large lakes, some of which are traced upon the chart. Since we quitted the confines of Connecticut, I have in general observed a great number of these ponds, which contributed to increase the resemblance between this country and that of the *Bour-*

*bonnois*, and the *Nivernois*, in France. Twelve miles from Haverhill is *Kingston*, a township inferior to those we had observed upon the route; and at the end of eighteen miles is *Exeter*, at present the capital of New Hampshire, that is to say, the place where the President or Governor resides, and the members of the state assemble. It is rather a handsome town, and is a sort of port; for vessels of seventy tons can come up, and others as large as three or four hundred tons are built here, which are floated down Exeter river into the bay of that name, and thence to *Piscataqua*. We stopped at a very handsome inn kept by Mr. Ruspert, which we quitted at half past two; and though we rode very fast, night was coming on when we reached Portsmouth. The road from Exeter is very hilly. We passed through *Greenland*, a very populous township, composed of well built houses. Cattle here are abundant, but not so handsome as in Connecticut, and the State of Massachusetts. They are dispersed over fine meadows, and it is a beautiful sight to see them collected near their hovels in the evening.

7

evening. This country presents, in every respect, the picture of Abundance and of Happiness. The road from Greenland to Portsmouth is wide and beautiful, interspersed with habitations, so that these two townships almost touch. I alighted at Mr. *Brooster's*, where I was well lodged; he seemed to me a respectable man, and much attached to his country.

In the morning of the 10th I went to pay a visit to Mr. Albert de Rioms, Captain of the *Pluton*,\* who had a house on shore, where he resided for his health; he invited me to dinner, which he advised me to accept, as the Comte de Vaudreuil was in great confusion on board his ship, the mizen mast of which had been struck by lightning five days before, and which penetrated to his first battery; but he offered me his boat to

Q 2 *will not* carry

\* The Marquis de Vaudreuil's squadron was then at Boston, and some of his ships were refitting, and taking in masts at Portsmouth. M. de Albert de Rioms is the officer who commanded the evolutions of the French squadron, on the late visit of the King to Cherbourg.

TRANSLATOR.

carry me on board the *Auguste*. In returning for my cloak, I happened to pass by the meeting, precisely at the time of service, and had the curiosity to enter, where I remained above half an hour, that I might not interrupt the preacher, and to shew my respect for the assembly; the audience were not numerous on account of the severe cold, but I saw some handsome women, elegantly dressed. Mr. *Barkminster*, a young minister, spoke with a great deal of grace, and reasonably enough for a preacher. I could not help admiring the address with which he introduced politics into his sermon, by comparing the Christians redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, but still compelled to fight against the flesh and sin, to the Thirteen United States, who, notwithstanding they have acquired liberty and independence, are under the necessity of employing all their force to combat a formidable power, and to preserve those invaluable treasures. It was near twelve when I embarked in Mr. Albert's boat, and saw on the left, near the little Island of *Rising Castle*,



*Castle, the America,\** (the ship given by Congress to the King of France) which

Q 3

had

\* The *America* is the vessel given by Congress to the King of France, to replace the *Magnifique*, lost on Lovel's island in Boston harbour, when the French fleet entered that port some months after the defeat of the Comte de Grasse. This ship was designed for the well known *Paul Jones*, who by his command of the little squadron on the coasts of England, had acquired the title of Commodore, and was fighting after that of Admiral of America, which Congress, no bad appreciators of merit, thought proper to refuse him. The Translator met him at a public table at Boston, on his return from Portsmouth, where he told the company, that notwithstanding the reason he had to be discontented, he had given his advice in the construction and launching of the vessel, in which latter operation, however, the ship struck fast on the slip, but without any material damage. This accident is not intended by any means as an imputation on Mr. Jones, who certainly was fortunate enough, at one time, to render considerable service to America. He is said to have acquired a considerable property by the prizes he made in that cruize, but his officers and crews complain (the Translator does not say with what justice) that there has never been any distribution of the prize money, and that numbers of his maimed and mutilated sailors were reduced to beg for a subsistence in France, and elsewhere, to the discredit of America,

had been just launched, and appeared to me a fine ship. I left on the right the Isle of Washington, on which stands a fort of that name. It is built in the form of a star, the parapets of which are supported by stakes, and was not finished. Then leaving *Newcastle* on the right, and *Bittery* on the left, we arrived at the anchoring ground, within the first pass. I found Mr. Vaudreuil on board, who presented me to the officers of his ship, and afterwards to those of the detachment of the army, among whom were three officers of my former regiment of Guienne, at present called Viennois. He then took me to see the ravages made by the lightning, of which M. de Biré, who then commanded the ship, M. de Vaudreuil having slept on shore, gave me the following account : At half past two in the morning, in the midst of a  
 very

rica. Mr. Jones read some pretty enough verses in his own honour to the same company, at Brackett's tavern in Boston, extracted from a London newspaper, and said to be written by Lady Craven. The *America* is now at Brest, and is esteemed one of the handsomest ships in the French navy.

TRANSLATOR.

very violent rain, a dreadful explosion was heard suddenly, and the centinel, who was in the gallery, came in a panic into the council chamber, where he met with M. Biré, who had leaped to the foot of his bed, and they were both struck with a strong sulphureous smell. The bell was immediately rung, and the ship examined, when it was found that the mizen mast was cut short in two, four feet from the forecastle; that it had been lifted in the air, and fallen perpendicularly on the quarter-deck, through which it had penetrated, as well as the second battery. Two sailors were crushed by its fall, two others, who never could be found, had doubtless been thrown into the sea by the commotion, and several were wounded.

At one o'clock we returned on shore to dine with M. Albert de Rioms, and our fellow guests were M. de Biré, who acted as Flag Captain, though but a Lieutenant; M. de Mortegues, who formerly commanded the *Magnifique* (lost at the same period on Lovel's island in Boston harbour) and was destined to the command of the

*America*;

*America*; M. de Siber, Lieutenant *en pied* of the Pluton; M. d'Hizeures, Captain of the regiment of Viennois, &c. after dinner we went to drink tea with Mr. *Langdon*. He is a handsome man, and of a noble carriage; he has been a member of Congress, and is now one of the first people of the country; his house is elegant and well furnished, and the apartments admirably well wainscotted; he has a good manuscript chart of the harbour of Portsmouth. Mrs. Langdon, his wife, is young, fair, and tolerably handsome, but I conversed less with her than with her husband, in whose favour I was prejudiced, from knowing that he had displayed great courage and patriotism at the time of Burgoyne's expedition. For repairing to the council chamber, of which he was a member, and perceiving that they were about to discuss some affairs of little consequence, he addressed them as follows:

“Gentlemen, you may talk as long as you  
“please, but I know that the enemy is on  
“our frontiers, and that I am going to  
“take my pistols, and mount my horse,  
“to combat with my fellow citizens;”

the



the greatest part of the members of the council and assembly followed him, and joined General Gates at Saratoga. As he was marching day and night, reposing himself only in the woods, a negro servant who attended him says to him, " Master, you " are hurting yourself, but no matter, you " are going to fight for Liberty ; I should " suffer also patiently if I had Liberty to " defend." " Don't let that stop you," replied Mr. Langdon, " from this moment " you are free." The negro followed him, behaved with courage, and has never quitted him. On leaving Mr. Langdon's, we went to pay a visit to Colonel *Wentworth*, who is respected in this country, not only from his being of the same family with Lord Rockingham, but from his general acknowledged character for probity and talents. He conducted the naval department at Portsmouth, and our officers are never weary in his commendation. From Mr. *Wentworth's*, M. de Vaudreuil and M. de Rioms took me to Mrs. *Whipple's*, a widow lady, who is, I believe, sister-in-law to *General Whipple* ; she is neither young nor hand-

handsome, but appeared to me to have a good understanding, and gaiety. She is educating one of her nieces, only fourteen years old, who is already charming. Mrs. Whipple's house, as well as that of Mr. Wentworth's, and all those I saw at Portsmouth, are very handsome and well furnished.

I proposed, on the morning of the 11th, to make a tour amongst the islands in the harbour, but some snow having fallen, and the weather being by no means inviting, I contented myself with paying visits to some officers of the navy, and amongst others to the Comte de Vaudreuil, who had slept on shore the preceding night; after which we again met at dinner at Mr. Albert's, a point of union which was always agreeable. M. d'Hizeure had ordered the music of the regiment of Vennois to attend, and I found with pleasure, that the taste for music, which I had inspired into that corps, still subsisted, and that the ancient musicians had been judiciously replaced.\* After dinner,

\* The Marquis de Chastellux, amongst his various accomplishments, is distinguished not only in the character of an *amateur*, but for his scientific knowledge of music.

ner, we again drank tea at Mr. Langdon's, and then paid a visit to Dr. *Brackett*, an esteemed physician of the country, and afterwards to Mr. *Thompson*. The latter was born in England ; he is a good seaman, and an excellent ship-builder, and is besides a sensible man, greatly attached to his new country, which it is only fifteen years since he adopted. His wife is an American, and pleases by her countenance, but still more by her amiable and polite behaviour. We finished the evening at Mr. Wentworth's, where the Comte de Vaudreuil lodged ; he gave us a very handsome supper, without ceremony, during which the conversation was gay and agreeable.

The 12th I set out, after taking leave of M. de Vaudreuil, whom I met as he was coming to call on me, and it was certainly with the greatest sincerity that I testified to him my sense of the polite manner in which I had been received by him, and by the officers under his command.

The following are the ideas which I had an opportunity of acquiring relative to the town of Portsmouth. It was in a pretty flourishing

flourishing state before the war, and carried on the trade of ship timber, and salt fish. It is easy to conceive that this commerce must have greatly suffered since the commencement of the troubles, but notwithstanding, Portsmouth is, perhaps, of all the American towns, that which will gain the most by the present war. There is every appearance of its becoming to *New England*, what the other Portsmouth is to the *Old*; that is to say, that this place will be made choice of as the depôt of the continental marine. The access to the harbour is easy, the road immense, and there are seven fathoms water as far up as two miles above the town; add to this, that notwithstanding its northern situation, the harbour of Portsmouth is never frozen, an advantage arising from the rapidity of the current. This circumstance, joined to its proximity to the timber for ship-building, especially for masts, which can only be balanced by the harbour of Rhode Island, will doubtless determine the choice of Congress. But if a naval establishment be thought necessary at Portsmouth, the quays, the rope-walks, the



the arsenals, &c. must be placed in the islands, and not on the continent; for it would be easy for an enemy's army to land there, and take possession of the town, the local situation of which would require too considerable a developement of fortification to shelter it from insult. I imagine however, that a good entrenched camp might be formed between the two creeks, but I am only able to judge of that from a slight observation, and from charts.

It has happened in New Hampshire, as in the State of Massachusetts, that the losses of commerce have turned to the advantage of agriculture; the capitals of the rich, and the industry of the people having flowed back from the coasts towards the interior of the country, which has profited rapidly by the reflux. It is certain that this country has a very flourishing appearance, and that new houses are building, and new farms are settling every day.

New Hampshire hitherto has no permanent constitution, and its present government is no more than a simple convention; it much resembles that of Pennsylvania, for it  
consists

consists of one legislative body, composed of the representatives of the people, and the executive council, which has for its chief, a President, instead of Governor. But during my stay at Portsmouth, I learnt that there was an assembly at Exeter for the purpose of establishing a constitution, the principal articles of which were already agreed on. This constitution will be founded on the same principles as those of New-York and Massachusetts. There will be, as in the former, an executive power vested in the hands of the Governor, the Chancellor and the Chief Justices; the latter of whom will be perpetual, at least *quam diu se bene gesserint*, during good behaviour, but the members of the senate will be annually changed, and the requisite qualification of a senator, very inconsiderable, which I think is a great inconvenience \*. Mr. Langdon observes, and perhaps with reason, that the country is as yet too young, and the materials wanting to give this senate

all

\* A new form of government has been established since the peace.

all the weight and consistence it ought to have, as in Maryland, where the senators are elected for three years, and must possess at least five hundred pounds.

At Portsmouth I was told of a new sect, which could not fail of making some noise in the country. An individual, I think, of the name of *Andrews*, thinks proper to preach a doctrine called that of the *Universalists*. He pretends that Jesus Christ having redeemed all men, no man can be damned; for were it otherwise, his mission would be useless, at least in a great measure. If this opinion be not novel, it is certainly very commodious; but it forms rather a subject of conversation, and even of pleasantry, than matter of dispute.

When I was at Portsmouth the necessities of life were very dear, owing to the great drought of the preceding summer. Corn costs two dollars a bushel, (of sixty pounds weight) oats almost as much, and Indian corn was extremely scarce. I shall hardly be believed when I say, that I paid eight livres ten sols (about seven shillings and three-pence) a day for each horse.

Butcher's

Butcher's meat only was cheap, selling at two-pence halfpenny a pound. That part of New Hampshire bordering on the coast is not fertile; there are good lands at forty or fifty miles distance from the sea, but the expence of carriage greatly augments the price of articles, when sold in the more inhabited parts. As for the value of landed property it is dear enough for so new a country. Mr. Ruspert, my landlord, paid seventy pounds currency per annum, (at eighteen livres, or fifteen shillings the pound) for his inn. Lands sell at from ten to sixteen dollars an acre. The country produces little fruit, and the cyder is indifferent.

The road from Portsmouth to *Newbury* passes through a barren country. *Hampton* is the only township you meet with, and there are not such handsome houses there as at Greenland. As we had only twenty miles to go, I was unwilling to stop, and desired the Vicomte de Vaudreuil only, to go on a little before us to dinner. It was two o'clock when we reached Merimack ferry, and from the shore we saw the opening



ngs of the harbour, the channel of which passes near the northern extremity of *Plumb Island*, on which is a small fort, with a few cannon and mortars. Its situation appears to me well chosen, at least as far as I was capable of judging from a distance. At the entrance of the harbour is a bar, on which there are only eighteen feet water in the highest tides, so that although it be a very commercial place, it has always been respected by the English. Several frigates have been built here; amongst others, the *Charles-Town*, and the *Alliance* \*. The har-  
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\* The privateers which so greatly molested the British trade were chiefly from the ports of Newbury, Beverley, and Salem, in which places large fortunes were made by this means: and such must ever be the case in any future war, from the peculiarity of their position, whence they may run out at any season of the year, and commit depredations on any of the maritime powers to which America is hostile, with little fear of retaliation. Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, the Gulphs of St. Lawrence, and of Florida, and the whole trade of the West-Indian Archipelago, are in a manner at their doors. However Great Britain may affect to despise America, she is perhaps, even in her present infant

bour is extensive, and well sheltered. After passing the ferry in little flat boats, which held

state, from various circumstances, the most formidable enemy she can have to cope with, in case of a rupture; for, as nations ought collectively to be dispassionate, though individuals are not, it behoves her to reflect, where, and in what manner she can return the blow. Mr. *Jefferson*, the present Minister of the United States at Versailles, amongst other excellent observations on this subject has the following, which I extract with pleasure from his *Notes on Virginia*, a most interesting work, with which I have just privately been favoured. “ The sea is the field  
 “ on which we should meet an European enemy,  
 “ on that element it is necessary we should possess  
 “ some power. To aim at such a navy as the  
 “ greater nations of Europe possess would be a  
 “ foolish and wicked waste of the energies of our  
 “ countrymen. It would be to pull on our heads  
 “ that load of military expence which makes the  
 “ European labourer go supperless to bed, and moistens his bread with the sweat of his brow. It  
 “ will be enough if we enable ourselves to prevent  
 “ insult from those nations of Europe which are  
 “ weak on the sea, because *circumstances exist which*  
 “ *render even the stronger ones weak as to us. Providence*  
 “ *has placed their richest and most defenceless pos-*  
 “ *sessions at our door; has obliged their most precious*  
 “ *commerce to pass as it were in review before us.*  
 “ To protect this, or to assail us, a small part

held only five horses each, we went to Mr. Davenport's inn, where we found a good  
 R 2 dinner.

“ only of their naval force will ever be risked  
 “ across the Atlantic. The dangers to which the  
 “ elements expose them here are too well known,  
 “ and the greater danger to which they would be  
 “ exposed at home, were any general calamity to  
 “ involve their whole fleet. They can attack us  
 “ by *detachment only*; and it will suffice to make our  
 “ selves equal to what they may detach. Even a  
 “ smaller force than they may detach will be ren-  
 “ dered equal or superior *by the quickness with which*  
 “ *any check may be repaired with us*, while losses with  
 “ them will be irreparable till too late. A small  
 “ naval force then is necessary for us, and a small  
 “ one is necessary. What this should be I will not  
 “ undertake to say. I will only say it should by no  
 “ means be so great as we are able to make it. Sup-  
 “ posing the million of dollars, or £300,000 sterl.  
 “ which Virginia would annually spare without dif-  
 “ fress, be applied to the creating a navy. A single  
 “ year's contribution would build, equip, man, and  
 “ send to sea a force which should carry 300 guns.  
 “ The rest of the confederacy exerting themselves  
 “ in the same proportion would equip 1500 guns  
 “ more. So that one year's contribution would set  
 “ up a navy of 1800 guns. The British ships of the  
 “ line average 76 guns; their frigates 38. 1800  
 “ guns then would form a fleet of 30 ships, 18

dinner ready. I had letters from Mr. Wentworth to Mr. *John Tracy*, the most considerable merchant in the place; but, before I had time to send them, he had heard of my arrival, and, as I was rising from table, entered the room, and very politely invited me to pass the evening with him. He was accompanied by a Colonel, whose name is too difficult for me to write, having never been able to catch the manner of pronouncing it; but it was something like *Wigsleys*. This Colonel remained with me till Mr. Tracy finished his business, when he came with two handsome carriages, well equipped, and conducted me and my Aide de Camp to his country-house. This house stands a mile from the town, in a very beautiful situation; but of this I could myself

“ of which might be of the line, and 12 frigates.  
 “ Allowing eight men, the British average, for every  
 “ gun, their annual expence, including subsistence,  
 “ cloathing, pay, and ordinary repairs, would be  
 “ about 1280 dollars for every gun, or 2,304,000  
 “ dollars for the whole. I state this only as one  
 “ year’s possible exertion, without deciding whe-  
 “ ther more or less than a year’s exertion should  
 “ be thus applied.”

TRANSLATOR.



self form no judgment, as it was already night. I went however, by moonlight, to see the garden, which is composed of different terraces. There is likewise a hot-house and a number of young trees. The house is very handsome and well finished, and every thing breathes that air of magnificence accompanied with simplicity, which is only to be found amongst merchants. The evening passed rapidly by the aid of agreeable conversation and a few glasses of punch. The ladies we found assembled were Mrs. Tracy, her two sisters, and their cousin, Miss *Lee*. Mrs. Tracy has an agreeable and a sensible countenance, and her manners correspond with her appearance. At ten o'clock an excellent supper was served, we drank good wine, Miss Lee sung, and prevailed on Messieurs de Vaudreuil and Taleyrand to sing also: towards midnight the ladies withdrew, but we continued drinking Madeira and Xery. Mr. Tracy, according to the custom of the country, offered us pipes, which were accepted by M. de Taleyrand, and M. de Montesquieu, the consequence of which was

R 3] that

that they became intoxicated, and were led home, where they were happy to get to bed. As to myself, I remained perfectly cool, and continued to converse on trade and politics with Mr. Tracy, who interested me greatly with an account of all the vicissitudes of his fortune since the beginning of the war. At the end of 1777, his brother and he had lost one and forty ships, and with regard to himself, he had not a ray of hope but in a single letter of marque of eight guns, of which he had received no news. As he was walking one day with his brother, and they were reasoning together on the means of subsisting their families (for they were both married) they perceived a sail making for the harbour. He immediately interrupted the conversation, saying to his brother, "Perhaps it is a prize for me." The latter laughed at him, but he immediately took a boat, went to meet the ship, and found that it was in fact a prize belonging to him, worth five-and-twenty thousand pounds sterling. Since that period, he has been almost always fortunate, and he is at present

sent thought to be worth near £120,000 sterling. He has my warmest wishes for his prosperity; for he is a sensible, polite man, and a good patriot. He has always assisted his country in time of need, and in 1781 lent five thousand pounds to the State of Massachusetts for the cloathing of their troops, and that only on the receipt of the Treasurer, yet his quota of taxes in that very year amounted to *six thousand pounds*. One can hardly conceive how a simple individual can be burthened so far; but it must be understood, that besides the duty of 5 per cent. on importation, required by Congress, the State imposed another tax of the same value on the sale of every article, in the nature of an excise, on rum, sugar, coffee, &c. These taxes are levied with great rigour: a merchant who receives a vessel is obliged to declare the cargo, and nothing can go out of the ship or warehouse without paying the duty. The consequence of this restraint is, that the merchants, in order to obtain free use of their property, are obliged themselves to turn retailers, and pay the whole duty,

the

the value of which they must recover from those to whom they sell. Without this, they could neither draw from their stores what is necessary for their own consumption, nor the small articles, which they are in the way of selling, at the first hand; they are consequently obliged to take out *licences*, like tavern-keepers and retailers, thus supporting the whole weight of the impost both as merchants and as shop-keepers. Patriot as he is, Mr Tracy cannot help blaming the rigour with which commerce is treated; a rigour arising from the preponderance of the farmers or landholders, and also from the necessity which the government is under of finding money where it can; for the farmers easily evade the taxes; *certificates, receipts, alledged grievances*, reduce them almost to nothing. Thus has a State, yet in its infancy, all the infirmities of age, and taxation attaches itself to the very source of wealth, at the risk of drying up its channels. [This observation appears rather forced, as applied generally, the Marquis admitting that these impositions



impositions were the result of a critical and immediate want. *Translator.*]

I left *Newbury Port*, the 13th at ten in the morning, and often stopped before I lost sight of this pretty little town, for I had great pleasure in enjoying the different aspects it presents. It is in general well built, and is daily increasing in new buildings. The warehouses of the merchants, which are near their own houses, serve by way of ornament, and in point of architecture resemble not a little our large green-houses. You cannot see the ocean from the road to *Ipswich*; and the country to the eastward is dry and rocky. Toward the west it is more fertile; but in general the land throughout the country, bordering on the sea, is not fruitful. At the end of twelve miles is *Ipswich*, where we stopped to bait our horses, and were surprized to find a town between *Newbury* and *Salem*, at least as populous as these two seaports, though indeed much less opulent. But mounting an eminence near the tavern, I saw that *Ipswich* was also a sea-port; I was told however that the entrance was  
difficult,

difficult, and that at some times of the year there were not five feet upon the bar. From this eminence you see Cape Anne, and the south side of Plumb island, as well as a part of the north. The bearing of the coast, which trends to the eastward, seems to me badly laid down in the charts; this coast trends more southerly above Ipswich, and forms a sort of bay. Ipswich at present has but little trade, and its fishery is also on the decline; but the ground in the neighbourhood is pretty good, and abounds in pasturage, so that the seamen having turned farmers, they have been in no want of subsistence\*, which may account likewise for

\* The activity and enterprize of the inhabitants of the Eastern States are unremitted. The seaman when on shore immediately applies himself to some handicraft occupation, or to husbandry, and is always ready at a moment's warning to accompany the captain his neighbour, who is likewise frequently a mechanic, to the fisheries. West-India voyages are the most perilous expeditions, so that it is no uncommon circumstance to find in a crew of excellent New England mariners, not a single seaman, so to speak, by profession. Hence arise that zeal, sobriety, industry, oeconomy and attachment for

for the very considerable population of this place, where you meet with upwards of  
two

which they are so justly celebrated, and which cannot fail of giving them, sooner or later, a decided superiority at least in the seas of the New World. This education and these manners are the operative causes of that wonderful spirit of enterprize, and perseverance, so admirably painted by Mr. Edmund Burke, in his wise, eloquent, and immortal speech of March 22, 1775, on his motion for conciliation with the colonies. “ Pray, Sir, says he, “ what in the world is equal to it? Pass by the “ other parts (of America), and look at the manner “ in which the people of New England have of late “ carried on the whale fishery. Whilst we follow “ them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and “ behold them penetrating into the deepest recesses of Hudson’s Bay, and Davis’s Streights, whilst “ we are looking for them beneath the arctic circle, “ we hear that they have pierced into the opposite “ region of polar cold, that they are at the antipodes, “ and engaged under the frozen serpent of the “ south. Falkland’s Island which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting place “ in the progress of their victorious industry. Nor “ is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them “ than the accumulated winter of both the poles. “ We know that whilst some of them draw the

two hundred houses, in about two miles square. Before you arrive at Salem, is a handsome rising town called *Beverley*. This is a new establishment produced by commerce, on the left shore of the creek which bathes the town of Salem on the north side. One cannot but be astonished to see beautiful houses, large warehouses, &c. springing up in great numbers, at so small a distance from a commercial town, the prosperity of which is not diminished by it\*. The

“line and strike the harpoon on the coast of  
 “Africa, others run the longitude, and pursue  
 “their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil.  
 “No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries. No  
 “climate that is not witness to their toils. Nei-  
 “ther the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity  
 “of France, nor the dextrous and firm sagacity of  
 “English enterprize, ever carried this most peri-  
 “lous mode of hardy industry to the extent to  
 “which it has been pushed by this recent people;  
 “a people who are still, as it were, but in the gristle,  
 “and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood.”

TRANSLATOR.

\* The town of *Beverley* began to flourish greatly towards the conclusion of the war by the extraordinary spirit of enterprize, and great success of the  
 Messieurs



The rain overtook us just as we were passing near the lake which is three miles from Beverley. We crossed the creek in two flat-bottomed boats, containing each, six horses. It is near a mile wide; and in crossing, we could very plainly distinguish the opening of the harbour, and a castle situated on the extremity of the neck, which defends the entrance. This neck is a tongue of land running to the eastward and connected with Salem only by a very narrow sort of causeway. On the other side of the neck, and of the causeway, is the creek that forms the true port of Salem, which has no other defence than the extreme difficulty of entering without a good practical pilot. The view of these two ports, which are confounded together to

Messieurs *Cobbets*, gentlemen of strong understandings and the most liberal minds, well adapted to the most enlarged commercial understandings, and the business of government. Two of their privateers had the good fortune to capture in the European seas, a few weeks previous to the peace, several West-Indiamen to the value of at least £100,000 sterling.

TRANSLATOR.

to the sight; that of the town of Salem, which is embraced by two creeks, or rather arms of the sea, the ships and edifices which appear intermingled, form a very beautiful picture, which I regret not having seen at a better season of the year. As I had no letters for any inhabitant of Salem, I alighted at *Goodhue's* tavern, now kept by *Mr. Robinson*, which I found very good, and was soon served with an excellent supper. In this inn was a sort of club of merchants, two or three of whom came to visit me; and amongst others, *Mr. de la Fille*, a merchant of Bourdeaux, who had been established five years at Boston; he appeared a sensible man, and pretty well informed respecting the commerce of the country, the language of which he speaks well\*.

The 14th in the morning, *Mr. de la Fille* called upon me to conduct me to see the  
port

\* The Translator, who was residing at this time at Salem, regretted exceedingly his accidental absence on the day the Marquis spent there, which he learnt, to his great mortification, on his return to the inn which the Marquis had just quitted.

TRANSLATOR.

port and some of the warehouses. I found the harbour commodious for commerce, as vessels may unload and take in their lading at the quays; there were about twenty in the port, several of which were ready to sail, and others which had just arrived. In general, this place has a rich and animated appearance. At my return to the inn I found several merchants who came to testify their regret at not having been apprized more early of my arrival, and at not having it in their power to do the honours of the town. At eleven, I got on horseback, and taking the road to Boston, was surprised to see the town, or suburb of Salem, extending near a mile in length to the westward. On the whole, it is difficult to conceive the state of increase, and the prosperity of this country, after so long, and so calamitous a war. The road from Salem to Boston passes through an arid, and rocky country, always within three or four miles of the sea, without having a sight of it; at length however, after  
passing

passing *Lynn* †, and *Lynn Creek*, you get a view of it, and find yourself in a bay formed by *Nabant's Point*, and *Pulling's Point*. I got upon the rocks to the right of the roads, in order to embrace more of the country, and form a better judgment. I could distinguish not only the whole bay but several of the islands in *Boston road*, and part of the peninsula of *Nantucket*, near which I discovered the masts of our ships of war. From hence to *Winisimmet* ferry, you travel over disagreeable roads, sometimes at the foot of rocks, at others across salt marshes. It is just eighteen miles from *Salem* to the ferry, where we embarked in a large *scow*, containing twenty horses; and the wind, which was rather contrary, becoming more so, we made seven tacks, and were near an hour in passing. The landing is to the northward of the port, and to the east of *Charles-Town* ferry. Altho' I knew

† *Lynn* is a very populous little place, and is celebrated for the manufacture of women's shoes, which they send to all parts of the continent. The town is almost wholly inhabited by shoe-makers.

TRANSLATOR.



I knew that Mr. *Dumas* had prepared me a lodging. I found it more convenient to alight at Mr. *Brackett's*, the *Cromwell's* head, where I dined \*. After dinner I went to the lodgings prepared for me at Mr. *Colson's*, a glover in the main street. As I was dressing to wait on the Marquis de Vaudreuil, he called upon me, and after permitting me to finish the business of the toilet, we went together to *Dr. Cooper's*, and thence to the association ball, where I was received by my old acquaintance Mr. *Brick*, who was one of the managers. Here I remained till ten o'clock; the Marquis de Vaudreuil opened the ball

\* This is a most excellent inn, and Mr. *Brackett* a shrewd and active friend to the true principles of the revolution. His sign of *Cromwell's head* gave great umbrage to the British under General Gage, who would not suffer it to remain. This circumstance alone could have induced Mr. *Brackett* to restore it after they were expelled the town, as reflection might have convinced him, that in the actual position of America, there was much more to be apprehended from a *Cromwell* than a *Charles*.

TRANSLATOR.

with Mrs. *Temple* \*. M. de l'Aiguille the elder, and Mr. Trueguet danced also, each  
of

\* The reader will observe that the author in speaking of this lady, of Mr. Bowdoin, her father, and the rest of the family, disdains to mention her husband, Mr. *John Temple*, so celebrated for political duplicity on both sides of the water. This gentleman was, however, at this very time at Boston, abusing Gov. Hancock, Dr. Cooper, and the most tried friends to America, in the public prints, and endeavouring to sow dissensions amongst the people. Every newspaper into which he could obtain admission, was stuffed with disgusting encomiums on Mr. *John Temple*, whom Mr John Temple himself held forth as the paragon of American patriotism, as the most active and inveterate enemy to England, and a victim to British vengeance, which he endeavoured to prove by instances taken from the English prints, of his treachery to England, and by boasting of his dexterity in outwitting the Ministry of that country. Yet no sooner did peace take place, than to the astonishment of every sensible and honest man in Europe and America, this very person, equally detested by, and obnoxious to, both countries, was dispatched as the sole representative of England to that country, of which he is also a sworn citizen, and whose father-in-law is the present Governor of Massachusetts. It is impossible to add to the folly and infamy of such a nomination. The choice of an Ambassador to Congress would have  
fallen

of them a minuet, and did honour to the French nation, by their noble and easy manner; but I am sorry to say, that the contrast was considerable between them and the Americans, who are in general very awkward, particularly in the minuet. The prettiest women dancers were Mrs. *Jarvis*, her sister, Miss *Betsy Broom*, and Mrs. *Whitmore*. The ladies were all well dressed, but with less elegance and refinement than at Philadelphia\*. The assembly room is  
S 2 superb,

fallen with more propriety on *Arnold*. His was a bold and single act of treachery; the whole *political* life of Mr. Temple has been one continued violation of good faith. For further particulars of this gentleman's conduct, see the *Political Magazine* for 1780, p. 691, and 740, but volumes might be written on this subject. The Translator is sorry to add, that whilst he lives and flourishes, the virtuous, the amiable Dr. Cooper is in his grave, and Mr. Hancock, that illustrious citizen, he fears, not far removed from it. TRANSLATOR.

\* The Translator was present at this assembly at Boston, which was truly elegant, where he saw Mr. J. Temple standing behind the croud, eyeing, like Milton's Devil, the perfect harmony and good humour subsisting between the French officers and the inhabitants, not as a friend to Britain, for that would have

superb, in a good style of architecture, well decorated, and well lighted; it is admirably well calculated for the *coup d'oeil*, and there is good order, and every necessary refreshment. This assembly is much superior to that of the City Tavern at Philadelphia.

The 15th, in the morning, M. de Vaudreuil, and M. le Tombes, the French Consul, called on me the moment I was going out to visit them. After some conversation, we went first to wait on Governor Hancock\*, who was ill of the gout, and unable to receive us; thence we went to

have been pardonable, but to discord, for he was at this very instant boasting of his inveteracy to Britain.

TRANSLATOR.

\* I had seen Mr. Hancock eighteen months before, on my former journey to Boston, and had a long conversation with him, in which I easily discovered that energy of character which had enabled him to act so distinguished a part in the present revolution. He formerly possessed a large fortune, which he has almost entirely sacrificed in the defence of his country, and which contributed not a little to maintain its credit. Though yet a young man, for he is not yet fifty, he is unfortunately very subject to the gout, and is sometimes, for whole months, unable to see company.



to Mr. *Bowdoin's*, Mr. *Brick's*, and Mr. *Cushing's*, the Deputy Governor. I dined with the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and after dinner drank tea at Mr. Bowdoin's, who engaged us to supper, only allowing M. de Vaudreuil and myself half an hour to pay a visit to Mrs. Cushing. The evening was spent agreeably, in a company of about twenty persons, among whom was Mrs. Whitmore, and young Mrs. Bowdoin, who was a new acquaintance for me, not having seen her at Boston when I was there the preceding year. She has a mild and agreeable countenance, and a character corresponding with her appearance.

The next morning I went with the Marquis de Vaudreuil to pay some other visits, and dined with Mr. Brick, where were upwards of thirty persons, and amongst others Mrs. *Tudor*, Mrs. *Morton*, Mrs. *Swan*, &c. The two former understood French; Mrs. Tudor in particular knows it perfectly, and speaks it tolerably well. I was very intimate with her during my stay at Boston, and found her possessed, not only of understanding, but of grace and delicacy,

cacy, in her mind and manners. After dinner, tea was served, which being over, Mr. Brick in some sort insisted, but very politely, on our staying supper. This supper was on table exactly four hours after we rose from dinner; it may be imagined therefore that we did not eat much, but the Americans paid some little compliments to it; for, in general, they eat less than we do, at their repasts, but as often as you choose, which is in my opinion a very bad method. Their aliments behave with their stomachs, as we do in France on paying visits; they never depart, until they see others enter. In other respects we passed the day very agreeably. Mr. Brick is an amiable man, and does the honours of his table extremely well; and there reigned in this society a *ton* of ease and freedom, which is pretty general at Boston, and cannot fail of being pleasing to the French.

The day following I waited at home for M. de Vaudreuil, who called on me to conduct me to dinner on board the *Souverain*. This ship, as well as the *Hercule*, was at anchor about a mile from the port. The officer who  
com-

commanded her, gave us a great and excellent dinner, the honours of which he did, both to the French and Americans, with that noble and benevolent spirit which characterizes him. Among the latter was a young man of eighteen, of the name of *Barrel*, who had been two months on board, that by living continually with the French, he might accustom himself to speak their language, which cannot fail of being one day useful to him\*. For this is far from being a common qualification in America, nor can it be conceived to what a degree it has hitherto been neglected; the importance of it however begins to be felt, nor can it be too much encouraged for the benefit of both nations. It is said, and certainly with great truth, that not only individuals, but even nations, only quarrel for want of a proper understanding; but it may be affirmed

\* This is a very amiable young gentleman, and his father a great connoisseur in prints and paintings: He was happy to have the opportunity of purchasing a compleat collection of *Hogarth's* prints from the Translator, then on his return to Europe.

TRANSLATOR.

firmed in a more direct and positive sense, that mankind in general are not disposed to love those to whom they cannot easily communicate their ideas, and impressions. Not only does their vivacity suffer, and their impatience become inflamed, but self-love is offended as often as they speak without being understood; instead of which, a man experiences a real satisfaction in enjoying an advantage not possessed by others, and of which he is authorized constantly to avail himself. I have remarked during my residence in America, that those amongst our officers, who spoke English, were much more disposed to like the inhabitants of the country, than the others who were not able to familiarize themselves with the language. Such is in fact the procedure of the human mind, to impute to others the contrarieties we ourselves experience; and such, possibly, is the true origin of that disposition we call *humeur*, which must be considered as a discontent of which we cannot complain; an interior dissatisfaction which torments us, without giving us the right of attributing the cause of it to any other



other person. *Humeur*, or *peevishness*, seems to be to anger, what melancholy is to grief; both one and the other are of longer duration, because they have no fixed object, and do not carry, so to speak, their *completion* with them; so that never attaining that excess, that *maximum* of sensibility, which brings on that repose, or change of situation which nature wills, they can neither be completely gratified, nor exhale themselves entirely. As for the Americans, they testified more surprize than peevishness, at meeting with a foreigner who did not understand English. But if they are indebted for this opinion to a prejudice of education, a sort of national pride, that pride suffered not a little from the reflection, which frequently occurred, of the language of the country being that of their oppressors. Accordingly they avoided these expressions, *you speak English; you understand English well*; and I have often heard them say—*you speak American well; the American is not difficult to learn*. Nay, they have carried it even so far, as seriously to propose introducing a new language; and  
some

some persons were desirous, for the convenience of the public, that the *Hebrew* should be substituted for the English. The proposal was, that it should be taught in the schools, and made use of in all public acts. We may imagine that this project went no farther; but we may conclude from the mere suggestion, that the Americans could not express in a more energetic manner, their aversion for the English.

This digression has led me far from the *Souverain*, where I would return, however, with pleasure, were it not to take leave of the Commandeur de Glanderes, and to experience a thick fog, which compelled me to renounce an excursion I proposed making in the harbour, and to get back to Boston as fast as possible, without visiting *Castle Island*, and *Fort William*. On landing, the Marquis de Vaudreuil and I went to drink tea at Mr. Cushing's, who is Lieutenant Governor of the State; whence we went to Mr. Tudor's, and spent a very agreeable evening. M. de Parois, nephew of M. de Vaudreuil, had brought his harp, which he accom-

accompanied with great taste and skill ; this was the first time, however, for three years, that I had heard truly vocal and national music : It was the first time that my ear had been struck with those airs, and those words, which reminded me of the pleasures, and agreeable sentiments, which employed the best æra of my life. I thought myself in Heaven, or which is the same thing, I thought myself returned to my country, and once more surrounded by the objects of my affection.

On the 17th, I breakfasted with several artillery officers, who had arrived with their troop ; that corps having greatly preceded the rest of the infantry, in order to have time to embark their cannon, and other stores. At eleven I mounted my horse, and went to *Cambridge*, to pay a visit to Mr. *Willard*, the President of that University. My route, though short, it being scarce two leagues from Boston to Cambridge, required me to travel both by sea and land, and to pass through a field of battle, and an intrenched camp. It has been long said that the route to Parnassus is difficult, but the obstacles we have there to encounter,

encounter, are rarely of the same nature with those which were in my way. A view of the chart of the road, and town of Boston, will explain this better than the most elaborate description. The reader will see that this town, one of the most ancient in America, and which contains from twenty to five and twenty thousand inhabitants, is built upon a peninsula in the bottom of a large bay, the entrance of which is difficult, and in which lie dispersed a number of islands, that serve still further for its defence; it is only accessible one way on the land side, by a long neck or tongue of land, surrounded by the sea on each side, forming a sort of causeway. To the Northward of the town is another peninsula, which adheres to the opposite shore by a very short rock, and on this peninsula is an eminence called *Bunker's-bill*, at the foot of which are the remains of the little town of *Charlestown*. Cambridge is situated to the North-west, about two miles from Boston, but to go there in a right line, you must cross a pretty considerable arm of the sea, in which are dangerous shoals, and, upon the coast, morasses.



morasses difficult to pass, so that the only communication between the whole northern part of the Continent, and the town of Bolton, is by the ferry of *Charlestown*, or that of *Winiffimet*. The road to Cambridge lies through the field of battle of Bunker's-hill. After an attentive examination of that post, I could find nothing formidable in it\*; for the Americans had scarcely time to form a breastwork, that is, a slight retrenchment without a ditch, which shelters the men from musquet shot, as high as the breast. Their obstinate resistance therefore, and the prodigious loss sustained by the English on this occasion, must be attributed solely to their valour. The British troops were repulsed on all sides, and put in such disorder, that Gen. Howe is said to have been at one time left single in the field of battle, until General Clinton arrived with a reinforcement, and turned the left of the American position, which

\* Bunker's-hill is an eminence neither more steep, nor more difficult of access than *Primrose* hill near Hampstead, in the neighbourhood of London.

which was weaker and more accessible on that side. It was then that Gen. *Warren*, who was formerly a physician, fell, and the Americans quitted the field, less perhaps from the superiority of the enemy, than from knowing that they had another position as good, behind the neck which leads to Cambridge; for, in fact, that of Bunker's-hill was useful only in as much as it commanded Charlestown ferry\*, and allowed them to raise batteries against the town of Boston. But was it necessary to expose themselves to the destruction of their own houses, and the slaughter of their fellow citizens, only that they might harraß the English in an asylum which sooner or later they must abandon? Besides that, the Americans could only occupy the heights of Bunker's-hill, the sloops and frigates of the enemy taking them in flank the instant they descended

\* A bridge of 1503 feet in length, and 42 in breadth, is just compleated (in 1786) between Boston and Charlestown, well lighted at night with 40 lamps. This important work was executed by subscription. The greatest depth of the water is 46 feet nine inches, and the least is 14 feet.

descended from them. Such, however, was the effect of this memorable battle, in every respect honourable for our allies, that it is impossible to calculate the consequences of a complete victory\*. The English, who had upwards of eleven hundred men killed and wounded, in which number were seventy officers, might possibly have lost as many more in their retreat; for they were under the necessity of embarking to return to Boston, which would have been almost impracticable, without the protection of their shipping; the little army of Boston would in that case have been almost totally destroyed, and the town must of course have been evacuated. But what would have been the result of this? Independence was not then declared, and the road to negociation was still open; an accommodation might have taken place between the Mother Country and her Colonies, and animosities might have

\* This attack on Bunker's-hill took place in the time of the hay harvest, and much execution was done amongst the British by some field-pieces, and musquetry concealed behind the cocks of hay.

TRANSLATOR.

have subsided. The separation not have been compleated, England would not have expended one hundred millions; she would have preserved Minorca and the Floridas; nor would the balance of Europe, and the liberty of the seas have been restored. For it must in general be admitted, that England alone has reason to complain of the manner in which the fate of arms has decided this long quarrel.

Scarcely have you passed the neck which joins the peninsula to the Continent, and which is hemmed in on one side by the mouth of the *Myssick*, and on the other by a bay called *Milk Pond*, than you see the ground rising before you, and you distinguish on several eminences the principal forts which defended the entrenched camp of Cambridge. The left of this camp was bounded by the river, and the right extended towards the sea, covering this town which lay in the rear. I examined several of these forts, particularly that of *Prospect-hill*. All these entrenchments seemed to me to be executed with intelligence; nor was I surprized that the English respected them



them the whole winter of 1776. The American troops, who guarded this post, passed the winter at their ease, in good barracks, well flanked, and well covered; they had at that time abundance of provisions, whilst the English, notwithstanding their communication with the sea, were in want of various essential articles, particularly fire-wood and fresh meat. Their government, not expecting to find the Americans so bold and obstinate, provided too late for the supply of the little army at Boston. This negligence, however, they endeavoured to repair, and spared nothing for that purpose, by freighting a great number of vessels, in which they crowded a vast number of sheep, oxen, hogs, and poultry of every kind; but these ships, sailing at a bad season of the year, met with gales of wind in going out of port, and were obliged to throw the greatest part of their cargoes into the sea, insomuch that, it is said, the coast of Ireland, and the adjoining ocean, were for some time covered with herds, which, unlike those of Proteus, were neither able to live amidst the waves, nor gain the shore.

The Americans, on the contrary, who had the whole continent at their disposal, and had neither exhausted their resources, nor their credit, lived happy and tranquil in their barracks, awaiting the succours promised them in the spring. These succours were offered and furnished with much generosity by the Southern Provinces; provinces, with which, under the English Government, they had no connexion whatever, and which were more foreign to them than the mother country. It was already a great mark of confidence, therefore, on the part of the New Englanders, to count upon that aid which was offered by generosity alone: \* but who could foresee that a citizen of Virginia, who, for the first time, visited these northern countries, not only should become their liberator, but should even know how to erect trophies, to serve as a base to the great

\* Surely good policy had some share in the alacrity of these proffered succours, nor does this supposition, whilst it does credit to the discernment, derogate from the generosity of the Virginians.—

*Tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet!*

TRANSLATOR.

great edifice of Liberty? Who could foresee that the enterprize, which failed at Bunker's-hill, at the price even of the blood of the brave Warren, and that of a thousand English sacrificed to his valour, attempted on another side and conducted by General Washington, should be the work only of one night, the effect of a simple manœuvre, of a single combination? Who could foresee, in short, that the English would be compelled to evacuate Boston, and to abandon their whole artillery and all their ammunition, without costing the life of a single soldier?

To attain this important object, it was only necessary to occupy the heights of *Dorchester*, which formed another peninsula, the extremity of which is within cannon shot of Boston, and in a great measure commands the port: but it required the eye of General Washington to appreciate the importance of this post; it required his activity and resolution to undertake to steal a march upon the English, who surrounded it with their shipping, and who could transport troops thither with the greatest facility.

facility. But it required still more: nothing short of the power, or rather the great credit he had already acquired in the army, and the discipline he had established, were requisite to effect a general movement of the troops encamped at Cambridge and at Roxbury, and carry his plan into execution, in one night, with such celerity and silence, as that the English should only be apprized of it, on seeing, at the break of day, entrenchments already thrown up, and batteries ready to open upon them. Indeed he had carried his precautions so far, as to order the whips to be taken from the waggoners, lest their impatience, and the difficulty of the roads might induce them to make use of them, and occasion an alarm. It is not easy to add to the astonishment naturally excited by the principal, and above all, by the early events of this memorable war; but I must mention, that whilst General Washington was blockading the English in Boston, his army was in such want of powder as not to have three rounds a man; and that if a bomb-ketch had not chanced to run on shore



shore in the road, containing some tons of powder, which fell into the hands of the Americans, it would have been impossible to attempt the affair of Dorchester; as without it, they had not wherewithal to serve the batteries proposed to be erected.

I apprehend that nobody will be displeased at this digression; but should it be otherwise, I must observe, that in a very short excursion I had made to Boston, eighteen months before, having visited all the retrenchments at Roxbury and Dorchester, I thought it unnecessary to return thither, and I was the less disposed to it from the rigour of the season, and the short time I had to remain at Boston. But how is it possible to enter into a few details of this so justly celebrated town, without recalling the principal events which have given it renown? But how, above all, resist the pleasure of retracing every thing which may contribute to the glory of the Americans, and the reputation of the illustrious Chief? Nor is this straying from the temple of the Muses, to consider objects which must long continue to constitute their

T 3

theme.

theme. Cambridge is an asylum worthy of them ; it is a little town inhabited only by students, professors, and the small number of servants and workmen whom they employ. The building destined for the university is noble and commanding, though it be not yet compleated ; it already contains three handsome halls for the classes, a cabinet of natural philosophy, and instruments of every kind, as well for astronomy, as for the sciences dependant on mathematics ; a vast gallery, in which the library is placed, and a chapel corresponding with the grandeur and magnificence of the other parts of the edifice. The library, which is already numerous, and which contains handsome editions of the best authors, and well bound books, owes its richness to the zeal of several citizens, who, shortly before the war, formed a subscription, by means of which they began to send for books from England. But as their fund was very moderate, they availed themselves of their connexions with the mother country, and, above all, of that generosity which the English invariably display whenever

ever the object is, to propagate useful knowledge in any part of the world. These zealous citizens not only wrote to England, but made several voyages thither in search of assistance, which they readily obtained. One individual alone, made them a present to the amount of £500 sterling; I wish I could recollect his name, but it is easy to discover it \*. It is inscribed in letters of gold over the compartment containing the books which he bestowed, and which form a particular library. For it is the rule, that  
each

\* The Translator is happy in being able to supply this deficiency, by recording the respected name of the late THOMAS HOLLIS, Esq; a truly eminent citizen of England, who, in every act of his public and private life, did honour to his illustrious name, to his country, and to human nature. One of his ancestors too, of the same name, founded, in this same college, a professorship for the mathematics and natural philosophy, and ten scholarships for students in these and other sciences, with other benefactions, to the amount of little less than £5000 sterling. Public virtue, and private accomplishments seem to be hereditary in this family; Mr. *Thomas Brand Hollis*, the inheritor of this fortune, pursuing the footsteps of his excellent predecessors—*passibus æquis*.

TRANSLATOR.

each donation to the university shall remain as it was received, and occupy a place apart; a practice better adapted to encourage the generosity of benefactors, and to express gratitude, than to facilitate the librarians labour, or that of the students. It is probable therefore, that, as the collection is augmenting daily, a more commodious arrangement will be adopted.

The professors of the university live in their own houses, and the students board in the town for a moderate price. Mr. *Willard*, who was just elected President, is also a member of the academy of Boston, to which he acts as Secretary of the foreign correspondence. We had already had some intercourse with each other, but it pleased me to have the opportunity of forming a more particular acquaintance with him; he unites to great understanding and literature, a knowledge of the abstruse sciences, and particularly astronomy. I must here repeat, what I have observed elsewhere, that in comparing our universities and our studies in general, with those of the Americans, it  
would

would not be our interest to call for a decision of the question, which of the two nations should be considered as an infant people.

The short time I remained at Cambridge allowed me to see only two of the professors, and as many students, whom I either met with, or who came to visit me at Mr. Willard's. I was expected to dine with our Consul, Mr. de Letombes, and I was obliged to hurry, for they dine earlier at Boston than at Philadelphia. I found upwards of twenty persons assembled, as well French officers, as American gentlemen, in the number of whom was *Doctor Cooper*, a man justly celebrated, and not less distinguished by the graces of his mind, and the amiableness of his character, than by his uncommon eloquence, and patriotic zeal. He has always lived in the strictest intimacy with Mr. Hancock, and has been useful to him on more than one occasion. Amongst the Americans attached by political interest to France, no one has displayed a more marked attention to the French, nor has any man received from Nature a character



character more analogous to their own. But it was in the sermon he delivered, at the solemn inauguration of the new constitution of Massachusetts, that he seemed to pour forth his whole soul, and develop at once all the resources of his genius, and every sentiment of his heart. The French nation, and the monarch who governs it, are there characterized and celebrated with equal grace and delicacy. Never was there so happy, and so poignant a mixture of religion, politics, philosophy, morality, and even of literature. This discourse must be known at Paris, where I sent several copies, which I have no doubt will be eagerly translated. I hope only that it will escape the avidity of those hasty writers, who have made a sort of property of the present revolution ; nothing, in fact, is more dangerous than these precipitate traders in literature, who pluck the fruit the moment they have any hopes of selling it, thus depriving us of the pleasure of enjoying it in its maturity. It is for a Sallust and a Tacitus alone to transmit in their works, the actions and harangues of their  
contem-

contemporaries ; nor did *they* write till after some great change in affairs had placed an immense interval between the epocha of the history they transmitted, and that in which it was composed ; the art of printing too, being then unknown, they were enabled to measure, and to moderate, at pleasure, the publicity they thought proper to give to their productions.

Doct<sup>r</sup> Cooper, whom I never quitted without regret, proposing to me to drink tea with him, I accepted it without difficulty. He received me in a very small house, furnished in the simplest manner, every thing in it bore the character of a modesty which proved the feeble foundation of those colonies so industriously propagated by the English, who lost no occasion of insinuating that his zeal for the Congress and their allies had a very different motive from patriotism and the genuine love of liberty \*. A visit to Mrs Tudor, where Mr. de Vaudreuil

\* Mr. John Temple finding himself detected, and ill received at Boston, was the undoubted author of these calumnies against Doct<sup>r</sup> Cooper, who had

Vaudreuil and I had again the pleasure of an agreeable conversation, interrupted from time to time by pleasing music, rapidly brought round the hour for repairing to the club. This assembly is held every Tuesday, in rotation, at the houses of the different members who compose it; this was the day for Mr. *Russel* \*, an honest merchant,

nobly dared to warn his countrymen against his insidious attempts to disunite the friends to liberty, under the mask of zeal and attachment to America. He dared, contrary to the decisive evidence of a long series of pure disinterested public conduct in the hour of danger, when Mr. Temple was a skulking, pensioned refugee in England, more than to insinuate, that Doctor Cooper, and *Mr. Hancock*, that martyr to the public cause, were actually in pay of the French court; but if ever there could be a doubt, entertained of such characters, founded on the assertions of such a man, his subsequent conduct has irrefragably proved, that as the calumny was propagated by him, so the suggestion must have originated in his own heart. Let not the Anglo-American Consul General to the United States complain. Historical justice will overtake both him and Arnold. It is a condition in the indenture of their bargain.

TRANSLATOR.

\* The Translator had the pleasure of being acquainted with the son of Mr. *Russel* and his friend *Winthrop*, in France and Holland. He had the good fortune likewise to meet with the latter at Bos-

chant, who gave us an excellent reception. The laws of the club are not straitening, the number of dishes for supper alone are limited, and there must be only two of meat, for supper is not the American repast. Vegetables, pies, and especially good wine, are not spared. The hour of assembling is after tea, when the company play at cards, converse, and read the public papers, and sit down to table between nine and ten. The supper was as free as if there had been no strangers, songs were given at table, and a Mr. Stewart sung some which were very gay, with a tolerable good voice.

The 19th the weather was very bad, and I went to breakfast with Mr. *Broom*, where I remained some time, the conversation being always agreeable and unrestrained. Some officers who called upon me, having taken up the rest of the morning, I at length joined Mr. de Vaudreuil to go and dine

ton. He takes a pride in mentioning these amiable young men, as they cannot fail of becoming valuable members of a rising country which attracts the attention of the world.

TRANSLATOR.

dine with Mr. Cushing. The Lieutenant Governor, on this occasion, perfectly supported the justly acquired reputation of the inhabitants of Boston, of being friends to good wine, good cheer, and hospitality. After dinner he conducted us into the apartment of his son, and his daughter-in-law, with whom we were invited to drink tea. For though they inhabited the same house with their father, they had a separate household, according to the custom in America; where it is very rare for young people to live with their parents, when they are once settled in the world. In a nation which is in a perpetual state of increase, every thing favours of that general tendency; every thing divides and multiplies. The sensible and amiable Mrs. Tudor was once more our centre of union, during the evening, which terminated in a familiar and very agreeable supper at young Mrs. Bowdoin's. Mr. de Parois, and Mr. Dumas sung different airs and duets, and Mrs. Whitmore undertook the pleasure of the eyes, whilst they supplied the gratification of our ears.

The



The 20th was wholly devoted to society. Mr. Broom gave me an excellent dinner, the honours of which were performed by Mrs. Jarvis and her sister, with as much politeness and attention as if they had been old and ugly. I supped with Mr. Bowdoin, where I still found more handsome women assembled. If I do not place Mrs. Temple, Mr. Bowdoin's daughter, in the number, it is not from want of respect, but because her figure is so distinguished as to make it unnecessary to pronounce her truly beautiful; nor did she suffer in the comparison with a girl of twelve years old, who was formed however to attract attention. This was neither a handsome child nor a pretty woman, but rather an angel in disguise of a young girl; for I am at a loss otherwise to express the idea which young persons, of that age, convey in England and America; which, as I have already said, is not, amongst us, the age of Beauty and the Graces. They made me play at whist, for the first time since my arrival in America. The cards were English, that is, much handsomer and dearer than  
ours,

ours, and we marked our points with Louis-d'ors, or six-and-thirties; when the party was finished, the loss was not difficult to settle; for the company was still faithful to that voluntary law established in society from the commencement of the troubles, which prohibited playing for money during the war. This law however, was not scrupulously observed in the clubs, and parties made by the men amongst themselves. The inhabitants of Boston are fond of high play, and it is fortunate, perhaps, that the war happened when it did, to moderate this passion which began to be attended with dangerous consequences \*.

On Thursday the 21st there fell so much snow as to determine me to defer my departure, and Mr. Brick, who gave a great dinner to Mr. d'Aboville, and the French artillery officers, understanding that I was still at Boston, invited me to dine, whither I  
went

\* It is with real concern the Translator adds, that gaming is a vice but too prevalent in all the great towns, and which has been already attended with the most fatal consequences, and with frequent suicide.

went in Mr. de Vaudreuil's carriage. Mr. Barrel came also to invite me to tea, where we went after dinner; and, as soon as we were disengaged, hastened to return to Mrs. Tudor's. Her husband, \* after frequently whispering to her, at length communicated to us an excellent piece of pleasantry of her invention, which was a petition to the Queen, written in French, wherein, under the pretext of complaining of Mr. de Vaudreuil and his squadron, she bestowed on them the most delicate and most charming eulogium. We passed the remainder of the evening with Mr. Brick, who had again invited us to supper, where we enjoyed all the pleasures inseparable from his society. I had a great deal of conversation with Doctor *Jarvis*, a young physician, and also a surgeon, but what was better, a good whig, with excellent views in politics. When Mr. *D'Estaing* left Boston, the sick and wounded were intrusted to his care,

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\* Mr. Tudor is the gentleman who has so frequently distinguished himself by animated orations on the annual commemoration of some of the leading events of this civil war. TRANSLATOR.

and he informed me, that the sick, who were recovering fast, in general relapsed, on removing them from the town of Boston, where they enjoyed a good air, to Roxbury, which is an unhealthy spot, surrounded with marshes. The physicians in America pay much more attention than ours to the qualities of the atmosphere, and frequently employ change of air as an effectual remedy.

The 22d I set out at ten o'clock, after taking leave of Mr. Vaudreuil, and having had reason to be satisfied with him, and the town of Boston. It is inconceivable how the stay of the Squadron has contributed to conciliate the two nations, and to strengthen the connections which unite them \*. The  
virtue

\* During my stay at Boston, a young Chevalier de Malthe, Monsieur *de l'Epine*, belonging to Mr. de Vaudreuil's Squadron, died, and I was present at his funeral. He was buried with the forms of the Catholic Church, by the first Chaplain to the fleet, and his remains were attended to the place of interment, besides his brother officers, &c. by the members of the senate and assembly, the principal inhabitants of the town, and the ministers of every sect of religion in Boston. The holy candles, and all the

virtue of Mr. de Vaudreuil, his splendid example of good morals, as well as the simplicity and goodness of his manners, an example followed, beyond all hope and belief, by the officers of his squadron, have captivated the hearts of a people, who, though now the most determined enemies to the English, had never hitherto been friendly to the French. I have heard it observed a hundred times at Boston, that in the time

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Catholic ceremonies were used on the occasion, in a town too, where, a few years before, the hierarchical pomp even of the church of England barely met with toleration; an useful lesson this to Machiavelian rulers, whose strength consists in the silly discord and divisions of their fellow creatures. The Translator contemplated this interesting scene with a complacent curiosity, which was only interrupted by the solitary dissatisfaction of Mr. John Temple, who, as well as his honest coadjutor, the *pious* Arnold, “ was shocked at seeing his countrymen “ participating in the rites of a church, against whose *antichristian* corruptions your pious ancestors “ would have witnessed with their blood.” See this zealous *protestant*’s proclamation, after selling himself to England, for £7000 3 per cents. and sacrificing the amiable, unhappy *Major André*.

TRANSLATOR.



even of the greatest harmony with the mother country, an English ship of war never anchored in the port without some violent quarrels between the people and the sailors; yet the French squadron had been there three months without occasioning the slightest difference. The officers of our navy were every where received, not only as allies, but brothers; and though they were admitted by the ladies of Boston to the greatest familiarity, not a single indiscretion, not even the most distant attempt at impertinence ever disturbed the confidence, or innocent harmony of this pleasing intercourse.

The observations I have already made on the commerce of New England, render it unnecessary to enter into any particular details on that of the town of Boston. I shall only mention a vexation exercised towards the merchants; a vexation still more odious than that I have spoken of relative to Mr. Tracy, and of which I had not the smallest suspicion, until Mr. Brick gave me a particular account of it. Besides the excise and license duties mentioned above, the merchants •

chants are subject to a sort of tax on wealth, which is arbitrarily imposed by twelve assessors, named indeed by the inhabitants of the town; but as the most considerable merchant has only one vote any more than the smallest shoopkeeper, it may be imagined how the interests of the rich are respected by this committee. These twelve assessors having full powers to tax the people according to their ability, they estimate, on a view, the business transacted by each merchant, and his probable profits. Mr. Brick, for example, being agent for the French navy, and interested besides in several branches of commerce, amongst others in that of insurance, they calculate how much business he may be supposed to do, of which they judge by the bills of exchange he endorses, and by the policies he underwrites, and according to their valuation, in which neither losses nor expences are reckoned, they suppose him to gain so much a day; and he is consequently subjected to a proportionable daily tax. During the year 1781, Mr. Brick paid no less than *three guineas and a half per day*. It

U 3 is

is evident that nothing short of patriotism, and above all, the hope of a speedy conclusion to the war, could induce men to submit to so odious and arbitrary an impost; nor can the patience with which the commercial interest in general, and Mr. Brick in particular, bear this burthen, be too much commended.

The 22d I went, without stopping, to *Wrentham*, where I slept, and reached Providence to dinner the 23d; where I found our infantry assembled, and waiting till the vessels were ready to receive them. Here I remained six days, during which I made an excursion of four-and-twenty hours to visit my old friends at Newport.

The 30th I left Providence, with Messrs. Lynch, Montesquieu, and de Vaudreuil, and slept at Voluntown. The next day Mr. Lynch returned to Providence\*, and  
we

\* Mr. Lynch, who was Aide Major General, and designed to be employed under the orders of the Baron de Viomenil, embarked with the troops. Mr. de Taleyrand was determined to follow them as a simple volunteer, and, assuming the uniform of a soldier in the regiment of Soissonnois,

we separated with mutual regret. The same day, the 1st of December, we stopped at Windham to rest our horses, and slept at *White's* tavern at Andover, near Bolton. The 2d I got to breakfast at Hartford, where I staid two or three hours, as well to arrange many particulars relative to the departure of my baggage, as to pay a visit to Mrs. Wadsworth. Mr. Frank Dillon, who had come to me at Providence, where he remained a day longer than me, joined me here. From hence we went to Farmington, where we arrived as night was coming on, and alighted at an inn kept by a Mr. Wadsworth, no relation of the Colonel's; but with whom I had lodged a month before, when on the march with my division. Mrs. Lewis, hearing of my arrival, sent her son to offer me a bed at her house, which I declined with a promise of breakfasting  
with

he marched into Boston in the ranks of the company of Chasseurs. This company embarked in the same vessel with the Comte de Segur, then Colonel *en second* of the Soissonnois; and Mr. de Talleyrand remained attached to it till his return to Europe.

with her the next morning; but, in a quarter of an hour, she called on me herself, accompanied by a militia Colonel, whose name I have forgot, and supped with us. The 3d, in the morning, I visited Mr. *Pitkin* the minister, with whom I had lodged the preceding year, when the French army was on its march to join General Washington on the North river. He is a man of an extraordinary turn, and rather an original, but is neither deficient in literature nor information. His father was formerly Governor of Connecticut; he professes a great regard for the French, and charged me, half joking, and half in earnest, to give his compliments to the King, and tell him that there was one Presbyterian minister in America on whose prayers he might reckon. I went to breakfast with Mrs. Lewis, and at ten set out for Litchfield. The roads were very bad, but the country is embellished by new settlements, and a considerable number of houses newly built, several of which were taverns. It was four when we arrived at Litchfield, and took up our quarters at *Shelding's tavern*, a new inn, large, spacious



cious and neat, but indifferently provided. We were struck with melancholy on seeing Mr. Shelding send a negro on horseback into the neighbourhood to get something for our supper, for which however we did not wait long, and it was pretty good.

The 4th we set out at half past eight, and baited at Washington, after admiring a second time the picturesque prospect of the two *falls*, and the furnaces, half way between Litchfield and Washington. Nor was it without pleasure that I observed the great change two years had produced in a country at that time wild and desert. On passing through it two years before, there was only one miserable alehouse at this place; at present we had the choice of four or five inns, all clean and fit to lodge in. *Morgan's* passes for the best, but through mistake we alighted at another, which I think is not inferior to it. Thus has the war, by stopping the progress of commerce, proved useful to the interior of the country; for it has not only obliged several merchants to quit the coasts, in search of peaceable habitations

habitations in the mountains, but it has compelled commerce to have recourse to inland conveyance, by which means many roads are now frequented which formerly were but little used. It was five in the afternoon when I arrived at Moorhouse's tavern. In this journey, I passed the river at *Bull's works*, and having again stopped to admire the beauty of the landscape, I had an opportunity of convincing myself that my former eulogium is not exaggerated. The river, which was swelled by the thaw, rendered the cataract still more sublime; but a magazine of coals having fallen down, in some measure destroyed the prospect of the furnaces. On this occasion I had not much reason to boast of the tavern. Colonel Moorhouse, after whom it was named, no longer kept it, but had resigned it to his son, who was absent, so that there were none but women in the house. Mr. Dillon, who had gone on a little before, had the greatest difficulty in the world to persuade them to kill some chickens; our supper was but indifferent, and as soon as it was over, and we had got near the fire, we saw these women, to the number of four, take our place

place at table, and eat the remainder of it, with an American dragoon, who was stationed there. This gave us some uneasiness for our servants, to whom they left in fact a very trifling portion. On asking one of them, a girl of sixteen, and tolerably handsome, some questions the next morning, I learnt that she, as well as her sister, who was something older, did not belong to the family; but that having been driven by the savages from the neighbourhood of *Wyoming*, where they lived, they had taken refuge in this part of the country, where they worked for a livelihood, and that being intimate with Mrs. Moorhouse, they took a pleasure in helping her, when there were many travellers; for this road is at present much frequented. Observing this poor girl's eyes filled with tears in relating her misfortune, I became more interested, and on desiring farther particulars, she told me, that her brother was murdered, almost before her eyes, and that she had barely time to save herself on foot, by running as fast as she could; that she had travelled in this manner fifty miles, with her feet covered with blood, before she found a horse. In  
other

other respects she was in no want, nor did she experience any misery. That is a burthen almost unknown in America. Strangers and fugitives, these unfortunate sisters had met with succours. Lodgings, and nourishment, are never wanting in this country; cloathing is more difficult to procure, from the dearness of all sorts of stuffs; but for this they strive to find a substitute by their own labour. I gave them a Louis to buy some articles of dress with, my Aides de Camp, to whom I communicated the story, made them a present likewise, and this little act of munificence being soon made known to the mistress of the house, obtained us her esteem, and she appeared very penitent for having shewn so much repugnance to kill her chickens.

The 5th we set out at nine, and rode, without stopping, to Fish-kill, where we arrived at half past two, after a four-and-twenty miles journey through very bad roads. I alighted at *Boerorn's* tavern, which I knew to be the same I had been at two years before, and kept by Mrs. Egremont. The house was changed for the better, and we made a very good supper. We passed the



the North-river as night came on, and arrived at six o'clock at *Newburgh*, where I found Mr. and Mrs. Washington, Colonel *Tilgham*, Colonel *Humphreys*, and Major *Walker*. The head quarters of Newburgh consist of a single house, neither vast nor commodious, which is built in the Dutch fashion. The largest room in it (which was the proprietor's parlour for his family, and which General Washington has converted into his dining room) is in truth tolerably spacious, but it has seven doors, and only one window. The chimney, or rather the chimney back, is against the wall; so that there is in fact but one vent for the smoke, and the fire is in the room itself. I found the company assembled in a small room which served by way of parlour. At nine supper was served, and when the hour of bedtime came, I found that the chamber, to which the General conducted me, was the very parlour I speak of, wherein he had made them place a camp-bed. We assembled at breakfast the next morning at ten, during which interval my bed was folded up, and my chamber became the sitting-room for the whole afternoon; for American manners

do



do not admit of a bed in the room in which company is received, especially when there are women. The smallness of the house, and the difficulty to which I saw that Mr. and Mrs. Washington had put themselves to receive me, made me apprehensive lest Mr. Rochambeau, who was to set out the day after me, by travelling as fast, might arrive on the day that I remained there. I resolved therefore to send to Fish-kill to meet him, with a request that he would stay there that night. Nor was my precaution superfluous, for my express found him already at the *landing*, where he slept, and did not join us till the next morning as I was setting out. The day I remained at head quarters was passed either at table or in conversation. General *Hand*, Adjutant General, Colonel *Reed* of New Hampshire, and Major *Graham* dined with us. On the 7th I took leave of General Washington, nor is it difficult to imagine the pain this separation gave me; but I have too much pleasure in recollecting the real tenderness with which it affected him, not to take a pride in mentioning it. Colonel  
Tilghman

Tilghman got on horseback to shew me, in the road, the barracks that serve as winter quarters for the American army, which were not quite finished, though the season was already far advanced, and the cold very severe. They are spacious, healthy, and well built, and consist in a row of log-houses containing two chambers, each inhabited by eight soldiers when compleat, which makes commonly from five to six effectives; a second range of barracks is destined for the non-commissioned officers. These barracks are placed in the middle of the woods, on the slope of the hills, and within reach of water; as the great object is a healthy and convenient situation; the army are on several lines, not exactly parallel with each other. But it will appear singular in Europe, that these barracks should be built without a bit of iron, not even nails, which would render the work tedious and difficult, were not the Americans very expert in putting wood together. After viewing the barracks, I regained the high road; but passing before General Gates's house, the same that General Knox inhabited

bited in 1780, I stopped some time to make a visit of politeness. The remainder of the day I had very fine weather, and I stopped and baited my horses at an inn in the township of *Chester*. In this inn I found nothing but a woman, who appeared good and honest; and who had charming children. This route is little peopled, but new settlements are forming every day. Before we reached Chester we passed by a bridge of wood, over a creek, called *Murderers river*, which falls into the North River, above New Windsor, on the other side of Chester; I still kept skirting the ridge of mountains which separates this country from *the Clove*. Warwick, where I slept, a pretty large place for so wild a country, is twelve miles from Chester, and twenty-eight from Newburgh; I lodged here in a very good inn kept by Mr. Smith, the same at whose house I had slept two years before at *Cheat*, which was much inferior to this. The American army having, for two years past, had their winter quarters near Westpoint, Mr. Smith imagined, with reason, that this road would be more frequented than that of Paramus; and

and he had taken this inn of a Mr. *Beard*, at whose house we stopped next day to breakfast. The house had been given up to him with some furniture, and he had upwards of one hundred and fifty acres of land belonging to it, for the whole of which he paid seventy pounds, (currency) making about one hundred pistoles. I had every reason to be content both with my old acquaintance and the new establishment.

The next morning, the 7th, we set out before breakfast, and the snow began to fall as soon as we got on horseback, which did not cease till we got to Beard's tavern. This house was not near so good as the other, but the workmen were busy in augmenting it. On enquiring of Mr. Beard, who is an Irishman, the reason of his quitting his good house at Warwick to keep this inn, he informed me, that it was a settlement he was forming for his son-in-law, and that as soon as he had put it in order, he should return to his house at Warwick. This Mr. Beard had long lived as a merchant at New-York, and even sold books, which I learnt from observing some good

ones at his house, amongst others, *Human Prudence*, which I purchased of him. It ceased snowing at noon, and the weather moderated; but in the afternoon it returned in blasts, for which however I was indemnified by the beautiful effect produced by the setting-sun amidst the clouds, its rays being reflected on the east, and forming a sort of parhelion. Towards the evening the weather became very cold, and we reached *Sussex* an hour before dark, and took up our lodgings at Mr. Willis's. The fire being not well lighted in the room intended for me, I stepped into the parlour, where I found several people who appeared to be collected together upon business; they had, according to custom, drank a good quantity of grog, one of them, called Mr. *Archibald Stewart*, smelt pretty strong. A conversation took place among us, and Mr. *Peops*, formerly Aide de Camp to General *Dickinson*, and at present a rich landholder in the *Jerseys*, having learnt that I was going to *Bethlehem* \*, or imagining

\* Bethlehem is a sort of colony founded by the *Moravian brethren*, frequently called *Herrenbuter*.



gining so from the questions I asked about the roads, very obligingly invited me to come the next day and sleep at his house. His house is on the banks of the Delaware, twenty-six miles from Suffex, thirteen from Easton, and twenty-four from Bethlehem. At first I had some difficulty in accepting his offer, from the apprehension one naturally has of being straitened oneself, or of straitening others. He insisted however so strongly, and assured me so often that I should find no inn, that I partly promised to lie at his house the following night. These gentlemen, and he in particular, gave me every necessary information; and, as I was desirous of seeing Moravian Mill \*, a village situated near Easton, four miles above Suffex, he directed me to Mr. Calver, who keeps a sort of an inn there. The company went away, and we passed a very

X 2

agreeable

It was to see this establishment, and the town of *Easton* and the *Upper Delaware* that I quitted the ordinary route, which leads from New Windsor to Philadelphia.

\* This is a property they have purchased in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem.

agreeable evening by a good fire, hugging ourselves at not being exposed to the severe cold we experienced on stirring out of the house. We were also well content with our landlord, Mr. Willis, who seemed to be a gallant man, and very conversible. He was born at Elizabeth-town, but has been sixteen years settled at Suffex. Thus does population advance into the interior parts, and go in search of new countries.

I set out the 8th a little before nine, the weather being extremely cold, and the roads covered with snow and ice; but on quitting the *Ridge*, and turning towards the west, by descending from the high mountains to lower ground, we found the temperature more mild, and the earth entirely free. We arrived at half past eleven at the *Moravian Mill*, and, on stopping at Mr. *Calver's*, found that Mr. Poops had announced our coming, and that breakfast was prepared for us\*. This fresh attention on his part, encouraged me to accept his

\* The Moravian sect is pretty generally known in Europe. They are the followers of the famous

his offer for the evening. As soon as we had breakfasted, Mr. Calver, who had treat-

X 3 *the same* ed

Count Zinzendorf\*, whose picture they have at Bethlehem; they have several establishments in Europe, familiar to those the Marquis is about to speak of, one of which I have seen at Zieff near Utrecht, where Louis the XIVth took up his quarters, but America seems to be the promised land of sectaries. Even the despised, ill-treated Jews, are well received in the United States, and begin to be very numerous; many of them were excellent citizens during the severe trial of the war, and some even lost their lives as soldiers, gallantly fighting for the liberties of their country. One family, in particular, I believe of the name of Salvador, at Rhode Island, was most eminently distinguished. What a glorious field is this for unprejudiced philanthropic speculation!

TRANSLATOR.

\* The following account of the Moravians is taken from a translation from the German, of an account of that body, by the Reverend B. La Trobe.—“The sect of the *Unitas fratrum*, more commonly known by the names of Herrenhuters and Moravians, was at first formed by Nicholas Lewis, Count of Zinzendorf, at Bartheldorf in Upper Lusatia, in the year 1722. Finding his followers increase, particularly from Moravia, he built an house in a wood near Bartheldorf for their public meetings: and, before the end of the year 1732, this place grew into a village, which was called Herrnhuth, and contained about six hundred inhabitants, all of them following Zinzendorf, and leading a kind of monastic life. From this time the sect has spread its branches from Germany, through all the

ed us with an anxiety and respect, more German than American, served, us by way of conductor, and led us first to see the saw-mill, which is the most beautiful, and the best contrived I ever saw. A single man only is necessary to direct the work, the same wheels which keep the saw in motion, serve also to convey the trunks of trees from the spot where they are deposited to the work-house, a distance of twenty-five or thirty toises; they are placed on a sledge, which sliding on a groove, is drawn by a rope which rolls and unrolls on the axis of the wheel itself. Planks are sold at six shillings, Pennsylvania currency (about three shillings and four-pence sterling) the hundred; if you find the wood, it is only half the money, and the plank in that case is sawed

“ Protestant states in Europe, made considerable establishments  
 “ on the continent of America, and Western Isles, and extended  
 “ itself to the East-Indies, and into Africa. In England, Mo-  
 “ ravian congregations are formed at London, Bedford, Oak-  
 “ brook near Derby, Pudsey near Leeds, Dunkerfield in Cheshire,  
 “ Leominster, Haverford West, Bristol, Kingswood, Bath, and  
 “ Tetherton.” Their settlements are becoming very numerous  
 too, but not their population, in all the different States in the  
 American Union,

TRANSLATOR.

sawed for one farthing per foot \*. This mill is near the fall of a lake which furnishes

\* It is remarked, that on the lands within reach of the Moravian settlements, the cultivation is superior, and every branch of husbandry is better carried on, first, from the emulation excited by these industrious people, and secondly, from the supply the countryman procures from them of every necessary implement of husbandry, &c. fabricated in these settlements. Besides those the Marquis speaks of, I visited some others, not far from Bethlehem, at one of which, called *Nazareth*, is a famous gunsmith, from whom my friend Major Pierce Butler, bought a pair of pistols, many of which I saw there of the most perfect workmanship. Nothing can be more enchanting than these establishments; out of the sequestered wilderness they have formed well built towns, vast edifices all of stone, large orchards, beautiful and regular shaded walks in the European fashion, and seem to combine with the most complete separation for the world, all the comforts and even many of the luxuries of polished life. At one of their cleared-out settlements, in the midst of a forest, between Bethlehem and Nazareth, possessing all the advantages of mills and manufactures, I was astonished with the delicious sounds of an Italian concerto; but my surprize was still greater on entering a room where the performers turned out to be common workmen of different trades, playing for their amusement. At



nishes it with water. A deep cut is made in a rock to form a canal for conducting the waters to the corn-mill, which is built within musket-shot of the former; it is very handsome, and on the same plan with that of Mrs. Bowling at Petersburg, but not so large. From the mill I went to the church, which is a square building, containing the house of the minister. The place where the duty is performed, and which may properly be called the church, is on the first floor, and resembles the Presbyterian meeting-houses, with this difference, that there is an organ and some religious pictures\*. This house of prayer,

fo

each of these places, the brethren have a common room, where violins and other instruments are suspended, and always at the service of such as chuse to relax themselves, by playing singly, or taking a part in a concert.

TRANSLATOR.

\* The Moravians appear to me to be a sect between the Methodists and the Catholics; at Nazareth, I met with an old Gloucestershire man, who came to America with the late Mr. Whitfield, with whom I had much conversation, and who told me that that gentleman was much respected, both living and dead, by the Moravians; but, indeed, besides

so singularly placed, reminded me of a story I heard at Boston. Divine service was formerly celebrated there in one of their places of worship, where the faithful were not assembled, tis true, on the first floor, but which, like this, contained the minister's house, below which were cellars. The pastor, a very learned man in other respects, besides his spiritual functions, carried on a trade

that, their hymns resemble much those of our Methodists, by spiritualizing even the grossest *carnal* transactions; I found that they all spoke of him as one of their own sect, but utterly disclaimed Mr. Wesley. They are very fond of pictures representing *the Passion*, to which they pay a respect little short, if at all, of idolatry. Their carnal allusions are fully verified in the following hymn taken from one of their books in the Moravian chapel at Pudsey in England, in 1773, an allusion than which nothing can be more infamous and shocking.

“ And she so blessed is,  
 She gives him many a kiss;  
 Fix'd are her eyes on him;  
 Thence moves her every limb;  
 And since she him so loves,  
 She only with him moves;  
 His matters and his blood  
 Appear her only good.”

TRANSLATOR.

trade in wine; that is to say, a great deal of it went out of his cellar, but not a drop ever entered it. A simple negro servant he had, used to say, that his master was a great saint, for that he employed him every year in rolling into his cellar a number of casks of cyder, over which, when he had preached and prayed a few Sundays, they were converted into wine.

On coming out of church I perceived Mr. Poops, who had taken the trouble to come and meet me. We mounted on horseback together, and after passing through a tolerably fertile valley, in which are some beautiful farms, chiefly Dutch, and well cultivated fields, we arrived in the evening at his house. It is a charming settlement, consisting of a thousand acres of land, the greatest part of which is in tillage, with a fine corn-mill, a saw-mill, and distillery. The manor-house is small, but neat and handsome. He conducted us into a parlour, where we found Mrs. Poops, his wife, Mrs. Scotland his mother-in-law, and Mr. Scotland his brother-in-law. Mrs. Poops has a pleasing countenance, somewhat injured

jured by habitual bad health, her behaviour is that of an accomplished woman, and her conversation amiable. The evening was spent very agreeably, partly in conversation, and partly at play; for Mrs. Poops gave me a lesson of backgammon, and I gave her one of *tric trac*. I had some conversation also with Mr. Scotland, a young man, who though but six-and-twenty, has made three campaigns, as Captain of artillery, and is now a lawyer of great practice. I have already observed that this is the most respectable, and most lucrative profession in America. He told me that he usually received, for a simple consultation, four dollars, and sometimes *half a Joe*; (thirty-six shillings sterling) and when the action is commenced so much is paid for every writ, and every deed, for in America lawyers act likewise in the capacity of notaries and attornies. I had much pleasure in conversing with Mr. Poops, who is a man of a good education, well informed, and active, and concerned in a variety of business, which he conducts with great intelligence. He had been employed in the Commissary's department

ment when General *Green* \* was Quarter-Master General, and made extraordinary exertions to supply the army, which rendered him so obnoxious to the tories, that he was for a long time obliged to remain armed in his house, which he barricaded every night. The supper was as agreeable as the preceding part of the evening; the ladies retired at eleven, and we remained at table till midnight. Mr. Poops's brother arrived as we were at the desert; he appeared to me a sensible man, he had married in Virginia the daughter of Colonel *Fims*, who had espoused one of his sisters. He was now a widower.

The next day, the 10th of December, we breakfasted with the ladies, and set out at half past ten; Mr. Poops accompanying me

\* The Gazettes have just announced the death of General Green. In him America has lost one of her best citizens, and most able soldiers. It is his greatest eulogium to say, that he stood high with General Washington, who recommended him to Congress, and that he amply justified the opinion entertained of him by that great, good man.

TRANSLATOR.



me to *Easton*, where he had sent to prepare dinner. I should have preferred my usual custom of making my repast at the end of my day's journey, but it was necessary for a little complaisance to return the civilities I had received. Two miles from the house of Mr. Poops we forded a small river, and travelled through an agreeable and well cultivated country. Some miles before we came to Easton, we passed over a height from whence one discovers a vast tract of country, and amongst others, a chain of mountains, which Mr. Poops desired us to remark. It forms a part of that great chain which traverses all America from South to North\*. He pointed out to us two *hiatus*, or openings, resembling two large doors or windows, through one of which flows the river Delaware; the other is a gap leading to the other side of the mountains, and is the road to *Wyoming*, a pass become celebrated

\* These are called the Kittatinny mountains. For an account of this *hiatus*, or gap, see Mr. *Charles Thompson's* Observations on Mr. *Jefferson's* Notes on *Virginia*, under the account of the National Bridge.

brated by the march of General Sullivan in 1779 \*. Before we got to Easton, we passed, in

\* See the first Journal, where the author gives an account of his conversations with General Schuyler. In whatever manner this expedition was set on foot, which took place in 1779, after the evacuation of Philadelphia, and the diversion made by d'Eftaing's squadron, the greatest difficulty to surmount was, the long march to be made through woods, deserts, and morasses, conveying all their provisions on beasts of burthen, and being continually exposed to the attacks of the savages. The instructions given by General Sullivan to his officers, the order of march he prescribed to the troops, and the discipline he had the ability to maintain, would have done honour to the most experienced amongst ancient or modern Generals. It may safely be asserted, that the Journal of this expedition would lose nothing in a comparison with the famous retreat of the *ten thousand*, which it would resemble very much, if we could compare the manœuvres, the object of which is attack, with those which have no other than the preservation of a forlorn army. General Sullivan, after a month's march, arrived, without any check, at the entrenched camp, the last refuge of the savages; here he attacked them, and was received with great courage, insomuch that the victory would have remained undecided, had not the Indians lost many of their Chiefs in battle, which never fails to intimidate them, and retreated during the

in ferry boats, the eastern branch of the Delaware; for this town is situated on the fork formed by the two branches of that river. It is a handsome, though inconsiderable town, but which will probably enlarge itself on a peace, when the Americans, no longer under apprehensions from the savages, shall cultivate anew the fertile lands between the *Susquehanna* and the Delaware. Mr. Poops took us to the tavern of Mr. *Smith*, who is at once an innkeeper and lawyer. He has a handsome library, and his son, whom Mr. Poops presented to me on my arrival, appeared to be a well educated and well informed young man. I invited him to dinner, as well as another youth who boarded with him, a native of Dominica, who had come to compleat his studies

the night. The General destroyed their houses and plantations, since which they have never shewn themselves in a body. However slight and insufficient the idea may be that I have given of this campaign, it may, nevertheless, astonish our European military men, to learn that General Sullivan was only a lawyer in 1775, and that in the year 1780 he quitted the army to resume his profession, and is now Civil Governor of New Hampshire.

studies amongst the Americans, to whom he seemed much more attached than to the English. He had made choice of Easton as more healthy, and more peaceable than the other towns of America, and found all the necessary instruction in the lessons and the books of Mr. Smith. As they knew of my coming, we did not wait long for dinner, and at half past three we got on horseback, Mr. Poops being still so good as to accompany me a mile or two, to obtain my permission for which, he pretended that there was a cross road where I might lose myself. At length we parted, leaving me penetrated with gratitude for his numerous civilities. Before I lost sight of Easton I stopped upon a hill, from whence I admired, for some time, the picturesque *coup d'œil* presented by the two branches of the Delaware\*, and the confused and whimsical form of the mountains;

\* In travelling over this hill, the Translator stopped near an hour to view this noble and enchanting prospect, with which it is impossible to satiate the eye. Nothing can be more delightful than the town and neighbourhood of Easton.

TRANSLATOR.



tains, through which they pursue their course. When I was satisfied with this spectacle, it was necessary to push forward to reach Bethlehem before night, and we travelled the eleven miles in two hours, but not before the day was closed \*. We had

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\* The first time I visited Bethlehem was from Philadelphia, and after travelling two days through a country alternately diversified with savage scenes and cultivated spots, on issuing out of the woods at the close of the evening, in the month of May, found myself on a beautiful extensive plain, with the vast eastern branch of the Delaware on the right, richly interspersed with wooded islands, and at the distance of a mile in front of the town of Bethlehem, rearing its large stone edifices out of a forest, situated on a majestic, but gradually rising eminence, the back ground formed by the setting sun. So novel and unexpected a transition filled the mind with a thousand singular and sublime ideas, and made an impression on me, never to be effaced. The romantic and picturesque effect of this glorious display of natural beauties, gave way to the still more noble and interesting sensations, arising from a reflection on the progress of the arts and sciences, and the sublime anticipation of the "populous cities," and "busy hum of men," which are one day to occupy, and to civilize the vast wildernesses of the New World.

TRANSLATOR.



no difficulty in finding the tavern, for it is precisely at the entrance of the town.

This tavern was built at the expence of the Society of Moravian Brethren, to whom it served formerly as a magazine, and is very handsome and spacious\*. The person who keeps

\* This inn, for its external appearance, and its interior accommodations, is not inferior to the best of the large inns in England, which, indeed, it very much resembles in every respect. The first time I was at Bethlehem, in company with my friends Major *Pierce Butler*, Mr. *Thomas Elliot*, and Mr. *Charles Pinkney*, Carolina gentlemen, we remained here two or three days, and were constantly supplied with venison, moor game, the most delicious red and yellow bellied Trout, the highest flavoured wild strawberries, the most luxuriant asparagus, and the best vegetables, in short, I ever saw; and notwithstanding the difficulty of procuring good wine and spirits at that period, throughout the Continent, we were here regaled with rum and brandy of the best quality, and exquisite old Port and Madeira. It was to this house that the Marquis de la Fayette retired, to be cured of the first wound he received in fighting for America; an accident, which I am well assured gave this gallant young nobleman more pleasure than most of our European *petits maitres* would receive from the most flattering proofs of the favour of a mistress, Mr. *Charles Pinkney*, whom I have above mentioned,

keeps it is only the cashier, and is obliged to render an account to the administrators. As we had already dined, we only drank tea, but ordered a breakfast for the next morning at ten o'clock. The landlord telling me there was a *Grouse*, or heath bird, in the house, I made him bring it, for I had long had a great desire to see one. I soon observed that it was neither the *Poule de Pharaon*, nor the Heath Cock;

Y 2 it

is a young gentleman at present in Congress for South Carolina, and who, from the intimate knowledge I have of his excellent education and strong talents, will, I venture to predict, whenever he pleases to exert them, stand forth amongst the most eminent citizens of the new confederation of Republics. It is my boast and pride to have co-operated with him, when he was only at the age of twenty, in the defence of the true principles of liberty, and to have seen productions from his pen, which, in point of composition, and of argument, would have done honour to the head and heart of the most experienced and most virtuous politician. Should the present work ever fall into his hands, let him recognize in this just tribute to his worth, an affectionate friend, who, knowing his abilities, wishes to excite him to exertion, in the noble, but arduous field before him.

TRANSLATOR.

it was about the size of a Pheasant, but had a short tail, and the head of a Capon, which it resembled also in the form of its body, and its feet were covered with down. This bird is remarkable for two large transverse feathers below his head; the plumage of his belly is a mixture of black and white, the colour of his wings of a red grey, like our grey Partridges. When the *Grøwse* is roasted, his flesh is black like that of a Heath Cock, but it is more delicate, and has a higher flavour\*.

I could not derive much information from my landlord on the origin, the opinions, and manners of the society, but he informed me that I should next day see the ministers and administrators, who would gratify my curiosity. The 11th, at half past eight, I walked out with a Moravian, given me by the landlord, but who was likewise ill informed, and only served me  
as

\* This bird must be what we call the black or grey game, and not what is known by the name of *Grøwse* in England. TRANSLATOR.

as a guide \*. He was a seaman, who imagines he has some talents for drawing, and amuses himself with teaching the young people, having quitted the sea since the war, where, however, he had no scruple in sending his son †. He subsists on a small

Y 3      estate

\* Our company was much more fortunate, Major Butler having obtained letters from Philadelphia to Mr. Van Vleck, a man of property, living here, but formerly of New-York. TRANSLATOR.

† It is remarkable enough, that the son of this Moravian, whose name is *Garrison*, should have served on board a vessel with me, and was, without exception, the most worthless profligate fellow we had in a mixt crew of English, Scotch, Irish, and Americans, to all of whom his education had been infinitely superior. Neither bolts nor bars could prevent, nor any chastisement correct, his pilfering disposition. In a long winter's voyage of *thirteen* weeks, with only provisions and water for *five*, this fellow was the bane and pest of officers, passengers, and seamen. Whilst every other man in the ship, even the most licentious in prosperity, submitted to regulations laid down to alleviate our dreadful sufferings, and preserve our lives, this hardened, unreflecting wretch, ignorant of every feeling of sympathy and human nature, seemed to take a savage delight in diffusing misery around him, and adding to the distresses of his fellow sufferers. He had

estate he has at Reading, but lives at Bethlehem, where he and his wife board in a private family. We went first to visit the house for *single women*. This edifice is spacious, and built with stone. It is divided into several large chambers, all heated with stoves, in which the girls work, some coarse work, such as spinning cotton, hemp, and wool, others, work of taste and luxury, such as embroidery, either in thread, or silk, and they excel particularly in working ruffles, little pocket-books, pin-cushions, &c. like our French nuns. The superintendant of the house came to receive us. She is a woman of family, born in Saxony; her name is Madame *de Gasterff*; but she does not presume upon her birth, and appeared surprized at my giving her my hand, as often as we went up and down stairs\*.

She

had been well educated in the humane principles of the Moravians, but he truly verified the just adage of *Corruptio optimi pessima*. TRANSLATOR.

\* When the Translator visited Bethlehem, the superintendant, or at least her deputy, was a Mrs. Langley, a very mild pretty behaved English woman, who had been a follower of George Whitfield. TRANSLATOR.



She conducted us to the first floor, where she made us enter a large vaulted apartment, kept perfectly clean, in which all the women sleep, each having a bed a-part, in which is plenty of feathers\*. There is never any fire in this room, and though it be very high and airy; a ventilator is fixed in the roof like those in our play-houses. The kitchen is not large, but it is clean, and well arranged; in it there are immense earthen pots, upon furnaces, as in our hospitals. The inhabitants of the house dine in the refectory, and are served every day with meat and vegetables; they have three shillings and sixpence currency per week, about fourpence per day, to the common stock, but they have no supper, and I believe the house furnishes only bread for breakfast. This expence, and what they pay for fire and candle deducted, they enjoy the produce of their labour, which is more than sufficient to maintain them.

*I. Smith, Nov. 25, 1831.* This

\* The Americans in general are remarkably fond of very large soft feather beds, even in the hottest climates, and we suffered greatly in this particular, at the inn at Bethlehem.

This house also has a chapel, which serves only for evening prayer, for they go to their church on Sundays. There is an organ in this chapel, and I saw several instruments suspended upon nails. We quitted Madame de Gasterff well pleased with her reception, and went to the church, which is simple, and differs little from that we had seen at Moravian mill. Here also are several religious pictures. From hence we went to the house of the *single men*. I entered the intendant's apartment, whom I found employed in copying music. He had in his room an indifferent *forte piano*, made in Germany. I talked with him on music, and discovered that he was not only a performer, but a composer. So that on his accompanying us to the chapel, and being asked to touch the organ, he played some voluntaries, in which he introduced a great deal of harmony, and progressions of base. This man, whose name I have forgot, is a native of New-York, but resided seven years in Germany, whence he had lately arrived. I found him better informed than those I had yet met with, yet it was with  
 some

some difficulty that I got from him the following details: The Moravian brethren, in whatever quarter of the world they live, are under the discipline of their metropolitans, who reside in Germany\*, from whence commissaries are sent to regulate the different establishments. The same metropolitans advance the sums necessary for forming them, which are paid in proportion as these Colonies prosper; thus the revenue of the mills I have spoken of, as well as the farms and manufactures of Bethlehem, are employed in the first instance to pay the expences of the community, and afterwards to reimburse the sums advanced in Europe. Bethlehem, for example, possesses a territorial property, purchased by the Moravians in Europe, which consists of fifteen hundred acres of land, forming a vast farm, which is managed

\* The Moravians maintain a constant intercourse with Germany in particular, of which country those in America are chiefly natives, and think nothing of a voyage to Europe. Governor Joseph Reed, of Philadelphia, had a son here, learning the German language, when I was at Bethlehem.

TRANSLATOR.

managed by a steward, who accounts for it to the community. If an individual wants a lot of land, he must purchase it of the public, but under this restriction, that in case of defection from the sect, or emigration from the place, he shall restore it to the community, who will reimburse him the original payment. As to their opinions, this sect resembles more the Lutherans, than the Calvinists; differing, however, from the latter, by admitting music, pictures, &c. into their churches, and from the former, by having no Bishops, and being governed by a Synod\*. Their police, or discipline, is of the monastic kind, since they recommend celibacy, but without enjoying it, and keep the women separate from the men. There is a particular house, also, for the widows, which I did not visit. The two sexes being thus habitually separated, none of those familiar connexions exist between them, which lead to marriage;

\* I do not speak with confidence, but am inclined to think that they have Bishops, at least a person was pointed out to us at Bethlehem, under that denomination.

marriage; nay, it is even contrary to the spirit of the sect, to marry from inclination. If a young man finds himself sufficiently at his ease to keep house for himself, and maintain a wife and children, he presents himself to the commissary, and asks for a girl, who (after consulting with the superintendant of the women) [*Translator*] proposes one to him, which he may, in fact, refuse to accept; but it is contrary to the custom, to choose a wife for himself. Accordingly, the Moravian Colonies have not multiplied, in any proportion, to the other American Colonies. That at Bethlehem is composed of about six hundred persons, more than half of whom live in a state of celibacy; nor does it appear that it has encreased for several years. Every precaution is taken to provide for the subsistence of their brethren, and in the houses destined for the unmarried of both sexes, there are masters who teach them different trades.

The house of the single men which I saw in detail, does not differ from that of the women; I shall only take notice of a very convenient method they have of awakening



awakening those who wish to be called up at any given hour; all their beds are numbered, and near the door is a slate, on which all the numbers are registered. A man who wishes to be awakened early, at five o'clock in the morning for example, has only to write a figure of 5 under his number, the watchman who attends the chamber, observes this in going his rounds, and at the hour appointed, the next morning goes straight to the number of the bed without troubling himself about the name of the sleeper.

Before I left the house, I mounted on the roof, where there is a Belvidere, from whence you see the little town of Bethlehem, and the neighbourhood; it is composed of seventy or eighty houses, and there are some others belonging to the colony at the distance of a mile or two; they are all handsome and built with stone \*. Every house  
has

\* From this Belvidere the view is beautifully romantic, and amongst other objects on the eastern side of the Delaware, you see a cultivated farm formed out of an immense wood and near the summit of a lofty mountain, which I likewise visited, and every

has a garden cultivated with care. In returning home I was curious to see the farm, which is kept in good order, but the inside was neither so clean, nor so well kept as in the English farm-houses, because the Moravians are still more barbarous than their language. At length at half past ten I returned to the inn, where I was expected by my moor fowl, two woodhens, and many other good things, so that I was still better satisfied with my breakfast than with my walk \*. At twelve we set out to travel twenty miles farther, to *Kalf's tavern*, a German house very poor and filthy. We had passed the eastern branch of the Delaware

step of which gives you the idea of enchanted ground. Besides the particular gardens to each private house there is a large public walk belonging to the community, nay, the church-yard itself is a gay scene of beauty and regularity, the verdent turf being clad in summer with strawberries and flowers.

TRANSLATOR.

\* Notwithstanding the good cheer at the tavern, the author, and I hope the reader, will pardon me for not crediting this declaration.

TRANSLATOR.

were a mile from Bethlehem\*; there is neither town nor village on the road, but the burghs to which the scattered houses we saw, belonged, are called *Socconock* and *Springfield*. The 12th I breakfasted at Montgomery, twelve miles from Kalf's tavern, and passing Whitemarsh and German town, we arrived towards five at Philadelphia.

Philadelphia,  
24th of Dec, 1782.

\* The eastern branch of the Delaware which passes by Bethlehem, and forms a junction with the western at Easton, is here called the *Lecha*. There is an excellent ferry over this rapid stream, of which I have spoken in the first volume. The Moravians amongst an infinity of other ingenious inventions, have a large hydraulic machine in the middle of the town which is at a great height from the river for raising the water to supply the inhabitants.

TRANSLATOR.

LET-

## LETTER

FROM THE

MARQUIS DE CHASTELLUX,

TO

MR. MADDISON,\*

Professor of Philosophy in the University of  
WILLIAMSBURGH.

I Have not forgot, Sir, the promise I made you on leaving Williamsburgh; it reminds me of the friendship with which you were pleased to honour me, and the flattering prejudices in my favour, which were the consequences of it. I am afraid that I have

\* Mr. Maddison's son is a member of the Assembly, and has served in Congress for Virginia. This young man, who at the age of 30 astonishes the new Republics by his eloquence, his wisdom, and his genius, has had the humanity and the *courage*, (for such a proposition requires no small share of courage) to propose a general amancipation of the slaves, at the beginning of this year, 1786: Mr. *Jefferson's* absence at Paris, and the situation of Mr. *Whythe*, as

have undertaken more than I am able to perform; but I shall at least address you in the language of sincerity, in the sort of literary bankruptcy I am now about to make.—By putting you in full possession of my feeble resources, however, I may perhaps obtain a still further portion of that indulgence, to which you have so frequently accustomed me. The subject on which I rather thought of asking information from you, than of offering you my ideas, would require long and tranquil meditation, and since I quitted Virginia, I have been continually travelling, sometimes from duty with the troops, at others to gratify my curiosity in the eastern parts of America, as far even as New Hampshire. But even had my time been subject to less interruption,

I am

one of the judges of the State, which prevented them from lending their powerful support, occasioned it to miscarry for the moment, but there is every reason to suppose that the proposition will be successfully renewed. As it is, the assembly have passed a law declaring that there shall be no more slaves in the Republic but those existing the first day of the session of 1785-6, and the descendants of female slaves.

TRANSLATOR.



I am not sure that I should have been more capable of accomplishing your wishes. My mind, aided and excited by yours, experienced an energy it has since lost ; and if in our conversation, I have chanced to express some sentiments which merited your approbation, it is not to myself that they belonged, but to the party that spoke with Mr. Maddison. At present I must appear in all my weakness, and with this further disadvantage, that I want both time and leisure not only to rectify my thoughts, but even to throw them properly on paper. No matter ; I venture on the task, persuaded that you will easily supply my unavoidable omissions, and that the merit of this essay, if there will be any, will be compleated by yourself.

The most frequent object of our conversations was the progress that the arts and sciences cannot fail of making in America, and the influence they must necessarily have on manners and opinions. It seems as if every thing relative to government and legislation ought to be excluded from such discussions, and undoubtedly a stranger,

should avoid as much as possible, treating matters of which he cannot be a competent judge. But in the physical, as in the moral world, nothing stands isolated, no cause acts single and independent. Whether we consider the fine arts, and the enjoyments they produce, as a delicious ambrosia, the gods have thought proper to partake with us, or whether we regard them as a dangerous poison; that liquor, whether beneficent or fatal, must always be modified by the vessel into which it is infused. It is necessary therefore to fix our attention for a moment on the political constitution of the people of America, and in doing this, may I be permitted to recal a principle, I have established, and developed elsewhere; \* which is, that the character, the genius of a people, is not solely produced by the government they have adopted, but by the circumstances under which they were originally formed. Locke, and after him, Rousseau have observed that the education of man should commence from the cradle, that

\* See the author's work—*de la felicité publique*.

that is to say, at the moment when he is contracting his first habits; it is the same with States. Long do we discover in the rich and powerful Romans, the same plunderers collected by Romulus to live by rapine; and in our days the French docile and polished, possibly to excess, still preserve the traces of the feudal spirit; whilst the English amidst their clamours against the royal authority, continue to manifest a respect for the crown, which recalls the epoch of the conquest, and the Norman government. Thus *every thing that is, partakes of what has been*; and to attain a thorough knowledge of any people, it is not less necessary to study their history than their legislation. If then we wish to form an idea of the American Republic, we must be careful not to confound the Virginians, whom warlike as well as mercantile, an ambitious as well as speculative genius brought upon the continent, with the New Englanders who owe their origin to enthusiasm; we must not expect to find precisely the same men in Pennsylvania, where the first colonists thought only of keeping and

cultivating the deserts, and in South Carolina where the production of some exclusive articles fixes the general attention on external commerce, and establishes unavoidable connexions with the old world. Let it be observed, too, that agriculture which was the occupation of the first settlers, was not an adequate means of assimilating the one with the other, since there are certain species of culture which tend to maintain the equality of fortune, and others to destroy it.

These are sufficient reasons to prove that the same principles, the same opinions, the same habits do not occur in all the thirteen United States, although they are subject nearly to the same force of government. For, notwithstanding that all their constitutions are not similar, there is through the whole a democracy, and a government of *representation*, in which the people give their suffrage by their delegates. But if we chuse to overlook those shades which distinguish this confederated people from each other; if we regard the thirteen States only as one nation, we shall even then observe  
that

that she must long retain the impresson of those circumstances, which have conducted her to liberty. Every philosopher acquainted with mankind, and who has studied the springs of human action, must be convinced that, in the present revolution, the Americans have been guided by two principles, whilst they imagined they were following the impulse of only one. He will distinguish, a *positive* and a *negative* principle, in their legislation, and in their opinions. I call that principle, positive, which in so enlightened a moment as the present, Reason alone could dictate to a people making choice of that government which suited them the best; I call that a negative principle which they oppose to the laws and usages of a powerful enemy for whom they had contracted a well founded aversion. Struck with the example of the inconveniences offered by the English government, they had recourse to the opposite extreme, convinced that it was impossible to deviate from it too much. Thus a child who has met with a serpent in his road, is not contented with avoiding it, but flies far from



the spot where he would be out of danger of his bite. In England, a septennial parliament invites the King to purchase a majority on which he may reckon for a long period; the American assemblies *therefore* must be annual; on the other side of the water, the executive power, too uncontrolled in its action, frequently escapes the vigilance of the legislative authority; on this continent, each officer, each minister of the people must be under the immediate dependence of the assemblies, so that his first care on attaining office, will be to court the popular favour for a new election. Among the English, employments confer, and procure rank and riches, and frequently elevate their possessors to too great a height: among the Americans, offices neither conferring wealth, nor consideration, will not, it is true, become objects of intrigue or purchase, but they will be held in so little estimation as to make them avoided, rather than sought after, by the most enlightened citizens, by which means every employment will fall into the hands of new and untried men, the only persons who can expect to hold them to advantage.

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In continuing to consider the thirteen United States under one general point of view, we shall observe still other circumstances which have influenced as well the principles of the government, as the national spirit. These thirteen States were at first colonies; now the first necessity felt in all rising colonies is population; I say in rising colonies, for I doubt much whether that necessity exists at present, so much as is generally imagined. Of this however I am very sure, that there will still be a complaint of want of population, long after the necessity has ceased; America will long continue to reason as follows: we must endeavour to draw foreigners amongst us, for which purpose it is indispensibly necessary to afford them every possible advantage; every person once within the State, shall be considered therefore as a member of that State, as a real citizen. Thus one year's residence in the same place shall suffice to establish him an inhabitant, and every inhabitant shall have the right of voting, and shall constitute a part of the sovereign power; from whence it will re-

sult that this sovereignty will communicate and divide itself without requiring any pledge, any security from the person who is invested with it. This has arisen from not considering the possibility of other emigrants than those from Europe, who are supposed to fix themselves in the first spot where they may form a settlement; we shall one day however, see frequent emigrations from State to State; workmen will frequently transplant themselves, many of them will be obliged even to change situations from the nature of their employments, in which case it will not be singular to see the elections for a district of Connecticut, decided by inhabitants of Rhode island or New York\*.

Some

\* There are various opinions in America on the subject of encouraging emigration. Mr. *Jefferson*, for example, a man of profound thought, and great penetration, is of opinion that emigrants from Europe are not desirable, lest the emigrants bringing with them not only the vices, but the corrupt prejudices of their respective ancient governments, may be unable to relish that bold universal system of freedom and toleration which is a novelty to the old world; but I venture to think,

Some political writers, especially the more modern, have advanced, that property alone  
should

and trust, that such emigrations will be attended with no bad consequences ; for who will be the emigrants to a country where there are neither gold nor silver mines, and where subsistence is alone to be obtained by industry ? Men of small, or no fortunes, who cannot live with comfort, nor bring up a family in Europe ; labourers and artizans of every kind ; men of modesty and genius, who are cramped by insurmountable obstacles in countries governed by cabal and interest ; virtuous citizens compelled to groan in silence under the effects of arbitrary power ; philosophers who pant after the liberty of thinking for themselves, and of giving vent, without danger, to those generous maxims which burst from their hearts, and of contributing their mite to the general stock of enlightened knowledge ; religious men, depressed by the hierarchical establishments of every country in Europe ; the friends to freedom ; in short, the liberal, generous, and active spirits of the whole world.—To America, then, I say with fervency, in the glowing words of Mr. *Payne*, who is himself an English emigrant.—“ O ! receive the fugitives and prepare in time an asylum for mankind.” The history of the late revolution too, may justify our hopes, for it is an observation, for the truth of which I appeal to fact, that the Europeans settled in America were possessed of *at least as much* energy, and served that country with as much zeal and en-

should constitute the citizen. They are of opinion that he alone whose fortune is necessarily connected with its welfare has a right to become a member of the State. In America, a specious answer is given to this reasoning; amongst us, say they, landed property is so easily acquired, that every workman who can use his hands, may be looked upon as likely soon to become a man of property. But can America remain long in her present situation? And can the regimen of her infant state agree with her, now she has assumed the virile robe?

The following, Sir, is a delicate question which I can only propose to a philosopher like you. In establishing amongst themselves a purely democratic government, had the Americans a real affection for a democracy? And if they have wished all men to be equal, is it not solely, because,

*they are so well disposed to it from*

enthusiasm in the cabinet, and in the field, as the native Americans, and to speak with the late Lord Chatham, who said many absurd, but more wise things than most statesmen, "they infused a portion of new health into the constitution."

*and so on, to suit his own view of the subject.* TRANSLATOR.



from the very nature of things, they were themselves nearly in that situation? For to preserve a popular government in all its integrity, it is not sufficient, not to admit either rank or nobility, riches alone never fail to produce marked differences, by so much the greater, as there exist no others. Now such is the present happiness of America that she has no poor, that every man in it enjoys a certain ease and independence, and that if some have been able to obtain a smaller portion of them than others, they are so surrounded by resources, that the future is more looked to, than their present situation. Such is the general tendency to a state of equality; that the same enjoyments which would be deemed superfluous in every other part of the world, are here considered as necessities. Thus the salary of the workman must not only be equal to his subsistence and that of his family, but supply him with proper and commodious furniture for his house, tea and coffee for his wife, and the silk gown she wears as often as she goes from home; and this is one of the principal causes of the scarcity of labour so generally attributed to the want  
of

of hands. Now, Sir, let us suppose that the increase of population may one day reduce your artizans to the situation in which they are found in France and England. Do you in that case really believe that your principles are so truly democratical, as that the landholders and the opulent, will still continue to regard them as their equals?— I shall go still further, relying on the accuracy of your judgment to testify every thing you may find too subtle or too speculative in my idea. I shall ask you then, whether under the belief of possessing the most perfect democracy, you may not find that you have insensibly attained a point more remote from it, than every other Republic. Recollect, that when the Roman senate was compelled to renounce its principles of tyranny, the very traces of it were supposed to be effaced, by granting to the people a participation of the consular honours. That numerous and oppressed class found themselves exalted by the prospect alone which now lay open to a small number of their body, the greatest part of them remained necessitous, but they consoled themselves by saying, *we may one day become consuls.*

*fuls.* Now observe, Sir, that in your present form of government, you have not attached either sufficient grandeur, or dignity to any place, to render its possessor illustrious, still less the whole class from which he may be chosen. You have thrown far from you all hereditary honours, but have you bestowed sufficient personal distinctions? Have you reflected that these distinctions, far from being less considerable than those which took place among the Greeks and Romans, ought rather to surpass them? The reason of this is very obvious: the effect of honours and distinctions is by so much the more marked, as it operates on the greater number of men assembled together. When Cneius Duillius, was conducted home on his return from supper to the sound of instruments, the whole city of Rome was witness to his triumph: grant the same honours to Governor Trumbull\*; three houses at most in Lebanon will hear the symphony.

\* Mr. Trumbull, Governor of Connecticut, inhabits the town of Lebanon, which occupies a league of country, and where there are not six houses less distant than a quarter of a mile from each other.

fymphony. Men must be moved by some fixed principle; is it not better that this should be by vanity than interest? I have no doubt that love of country will always prove a powerful motive, but do not flatter yourself that this will long exist with the same spirit. The greatest efforts of the mind, like those of the body, are in resistance; and the same may happen with respect to the State, as in matters of opinion, to which we cease to be attached, when they cease to be contested.

Behold many objects, Sir, which have passed in review before us. We have only glanced at them, but to distinguish them more clearly, requires more penetrating eyes than mine; you hold the telescope; do you apply your optics and you will make good use of them. My task will be accomplished if I can only prove to you that these enquiries are not foreign to my subject. I shall observe then that to know to what precise point, and on what principle you should admit the arts and sciences in your nation, it is necessary first to understand its natural tendency; for we may direct the course of rivers, but not repel them to their source.



source. Now, to discover the natural tendency of a nation, not only must we examine its actual legislation, but the oppositions which may exist between the government and prejudices, between the laws and habits; the re-action, in short, which these different moving powers may produce, one upon the other. In the present instance, for example, it is important to foresee to what degree the democracy is likely to prevail in America, and whether the spirit of that democracy tends to the equality of fortunes, or is confined to the equality of ranks. It is melancholy to confess, that it is to a very great inequality in the distribution of wealth, that the fine arts are indebted for their most brilliant æras. In the time of Pericles, immense treasures were concentrated in Athens, unappropriated to any particular purpose; under the reign of Augustus, Rome owed her acquisition of the fine arts to the spoils of the world, if the fine arts were ever really naturalized at Rome; and under that of the Julià and Leo the Tenth. Ecclesiastic pomp and riches, pushed to the highest point,



point, gave birth to the prodigies of that famous age. But these epochas, so celebrated in the history of the arts, are either those of their birth, or of their revival; and similar circumstances are not necessary to maintain them in the flourishing and prosperous state they have attained. There is one circumstance, however, which we have not yet touched upon, and which seems indispensable, as well for their preservation, as for their establishment. The arts, let us not doubt it, can never flourish, but where there is a great number of men. They must have large cities, they must have capitals. America possesses already five, which seem ready for their reception, which you will yourself name; Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charlestown. But they are sea-ports, and commerce, it cannot be dissembled, has more magnificence than taste; it pays, rather than encourages artists.—There are two great questions to resolve, whether large towns are useful or prejudicial to America, and whether commercial towns should be the capitals. Perhaps it will be imagined, that

that the first question is answered by the sole reflection, that rural life is best suited to mankind, contributing the most to their happiness, and the maintenance of virtue, without which there can be no happiness. But it must be remembered, that this same virtue, those happy dispositions, those peaceable amusements, we enjoy in the country, are not unfrequently acquisitions made in towns. If Nature be nothing for him who has not learnt to observe her, Retirement is sterile for the man without information. Now this information is to be acquired best in towns. Let us not confound the man retired into the country, with the man educated in the country. The former is the most perfect of his species, and the latter frequently does not merit to belong to it. In a word, one must have education ; I will say further, one must have lived with a certain number of mankind to know how to live well in one's own family. To abridge the question, shall I content myself with expressing to you my wishes ? I should desire that each state of America, as far as it is practicable, had a capital to be the seat of

government, but not a commercial city. I should desire that their capital were situated in the centre of the republic, so that every citizen, rich enough to look after the education of his children, and to taste the pleasures of society, might inhabit it for some months of the year, without making it his only residence, without renouncing his invaluable country seat. I should desire that at a small distance, but more considerable than that which separates Cambridge from Boston, an university might be established, where civil and public law, and all the higher sciences, should be taught, in a course of study, not to be commenced before the age of fourteen, and to be of only three years duration. I should desire, in short, that in this capital and its appendage, the true national spirit might be preserved, like the sacred fire; that is to say, that spirit which perfectly assimilates with liberty and public happiness. For we must never flatter ourselves with the hopes of modifying, after our pleasure, commercial towns. Commerce is more friendly to individual,

dividual, than to public liberty\*, it discriminates not between citizens and stran-

Ad 2. gers.

\* I cannot here omit an anecdote which places, in a strong point of view, the distinction between *individual* and *public* liberty, made by the mere merchant. In the early part of life I spent some years in the counting house of one of the most considerable merchants of the city of London, a native of Switzerland, for the moderate premium of *one thousand guineas*. This happening to be the period of the violent unconstitutional proceedings against Mr. Wilkes, the foreign merchant differing from the English apprentice, entered with zeal into all the measures of the then administration, which, though a republican by birth, he maintained with all the virulence of the tools of despotism. The American war followed, and this gentleman was no less active with offers of his life and fortune, from his counting house in the city, in support of the arbitrary views of the same set of men, accompanied on all occasions with positions destructive of every idea of *public charity*. But mark the difference, when *individual liberty* was in question.—Happening to dine with Mr. John Pringle, of Philadelphia, in 1782, the conversation fell on this merchant, who is at present one of the first in the world, and some questions were asked me respecting his politics; my answers corresponded with what I have above said of him; but, judge of my astonishment, when Mr. Pringle assured me, smiling, and gave me *ocular demonstration* of  
the

gers. A trading town is a common receptacle, where every man transports his manners, his opinions, and his habits ; and the best are not always the most prevalent. English, French, Italian, all mix together, all lose a little of their distinctive character, and in turn communicate a portion of it ; so that neither defects nor vices appear in their genuine light ; as, in the paintings of great artists, the different tints of light are so blended, as to leave no particular colour in its primitive and natural state.

Though it seems impossible to conclude this article without speaking of luxury, I have, notwithstanding, some reluctance to employ a term, the sense of which is not well ascertained. To avoid here all ambiguity, I shall consider it only *as an expence, abusive in its relations, whether with the fortune of individuals, or with their situation.*

In the fact, that America had not a better friend ; producing, at the same time, an invoice of a cargo of gunpowder shipped by his order on *joint account*, for the *Rebels* of America, at L'Orient, by which this Mr. —, of London, cleared near £.10,000 sterling !!

TRANSLATOR.



In the former case, the idea of luxury approaches that of dissipation, and in the latter, that of ostentation. Let us illustrate this thought by an example—If a Dutch merchant spends his property in flowers and shells, the sort of luxury into which he has fallen is only relative to his means, since his taste has led him further than his faculties would admit. But if, in a republic, a very wealthy citizen expends only a part of his fortune in building a noble palace, the luxury with which he is reproached, is in that case proportionable to his situation ; it shocks the public, in the same manner as proud and arrogant behaviour inspires estrangement and hatred.

We must do justice to commerce, it loves enjoyments more than luxury ; and if we see the merchant sometimes pass the limits, it is rather from imitation than natural propensity. In France and England, we see some ostentatious merchants, but the example is given them by the nobles. There is another more ridiculous, but less culpable abuse, from which commerce is not free ; which is, fashion. This must doubtless

prevail wherever there are many foreigners; for what is *usage* amongst them becomes *fashion*, when they establish themselves elsewhere. On the other hand, the numerous correspondencies, the interest even of the merchants, which consists in provoking, in exciting the taste of the consumers, tends to establish the empire of fashion. What obstacle must be opposed to this? I propose this question to myself with pleasure, as it leads me back to the fine arts by an indirect road. I shall ask, what has been heretofore the remedy for those caprices of opinion which have begot so many errors, so many revolutions? Is it not Reason and Philosophy? Well then! the remedy against the caprices of the fashion is the study of the arts, the knowledge of abstract beauty, the perfection of taste. But, what! Do you hope to fix the standard of that taste, hitherto so variable? How often has it changed? How often will it not again vary? I shall continue to answer in the manner of Socrates, by interrogating myself, and I shall say, What ridiculous opinions have not prevailed in the world,

world, from the time of the Grecian sophists to the theologians of our days? Has not Reason, however, begun to resume her rights, and do you think, that when once recovered, she will ever lose them? Why are you so unreasonable as to expect that objects so frivolous as furniture and dress should attain perfection before religion and legislation. Let us never cease repeating, that Ignorance is the source of evil, and Science that of good. —Alas! do you not see that the Greeks, who had some how acquired very early, such just notions of the arts and taste; do you not see, I say, that they never varied in their modes? Witness the statues modelled at Rome by Grecian artists; witness the noble and elegant mode of dress still retained by that people, though living amongst the Turks. Erect altars, then, to the fine arts, if you would destroy those of fashion and caprice. Taste, and learn to relish nectar and ambrosia, if you are afraid of becoming intoxicated with common liquors.

Perhaps, Sir, what I am about to say should only be whispered in your ear. I am going to handle a delicate subject, I am  
venturing

venturing to touch the ark. But be assured, that during a three years residence in America, the progress of the women's dress has not escaped me. If I have enjoyed this as a feeling man, if the results of this progress have not been viewed by me with an indifferent eye, my time of life and character are a pledge to you that I have observed them as a philosopher. Well, Sir, it is in this capacity I undertake their defence, but so long only as things are not carried to an excess. The virtue of the women, which is more productive of happiness, even for the men, than all the enjoyments of vice, if there be only real pleasures arising from that source; the virtue of the women, I say, has two bucklers of defence; one is retirement, and distance from all danger: this is the hidden treasure mentioned by Rochefoucault, which is untouched, because it is undiscovered. The other is loftiness, a sentiment always noble in its relation to ourselves. Let them learn to appreciate themselves; let them rise in their own estimation, and rely on that estimable pride for the preservation of their virtue

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as well as of their fame. They who love only pleasure, corrupt the sex, whom they convert only into an instrument of their voluptuousness; they who love women, render them better by rendering them more amiable. But, you will say, is it by dress, and by exterior charms, that they must establish their empire? Yes, Sir, every woman ought to seek to please; this is the weapon conferred on her by Nature to compensate the weakness of her sex. Without this she is a slave, and can a slave have virtues? Remember the word *decus*, of which we have formed *decency*; its original import is *ornament*. A filthy and negligent woman is not decent, she cannot inspire respect. I have already allowed myself to express my opinion by my wishes: I desire, then, that all the American women may be well dressed; but I have no objection to seeing that dress simple. They are not formed to represent the severity of the legislation; neither ought they to contrast with it, and convey a tacit insult on that severity. Gold, silver, and diamonds, then, shall be banished from American dress;



dress ; what excuse can there be for a luxury which is not becoming ? But this indulgence, Sir, which I have expressed for the toilet of the women, I am far from allowing to the men. I am not afraid to say, that I should have a very bad opinion of them, if in a country where there are neither etiquette nor titles, nor particular distinctions, they should ever give into the luxury of dress ; a luxury, which even the French have laid aside, except on marriages and entertainments, and which no longer exists any where but in Germany and Italy, where certainly you will not go in search of models.

Observe, Sir, that we have imperceptibly prepared the way for the fine arts, by removing the principal obstacles which might be opposed to them ; for, if far from rendering nations vain and frivolous, they rather tend to preserve them from the excesses of luxury, and the caprices of fashion, they can certainly be considered neither as dangerous nor prejudicial. Still, perhaps, you will retain some scruple on the article of luxury ; but recollect, Sir, if you please,  
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the definition I have given of it, and if you reflect that every fortune which exceeds the necessary demands, insensibly produces some sort of personal riches, such as valuable furniture, gold and silver trinkets, sumptuous services of plate, &c. you must perceive that this constant surplus of annual income would be infinitely better bestowed on painting, sculpture, and other productions of the arts. Luxury, we have said, is often an abusive employ of riches, relatively to the condition of him who possesses them. Now, what ostentation is there in possessing a fine painting, or a handsome statue? Surely the parade of a magnificent side-board will be more offensive to the sight of an unwealthy neighbour, than an elegant cabinet adorned with paintings. I doubt, even, whether the man who keeps a musician in his pay, be so much an object of envy as him who maintains race-horses and a pack of hounds.

But let us go farther; it is not only the productions of the fine arts of which I wish to procure the possession to America; the fine arts themselves must be placed within

within her bosom. If I am desirous of her purchasing pictures, it is that she may have painters; \* if I encourage her to send for musicians, it is that she may become musical in her turn. Let her not apprehend the fate of the Romans, to whom she has the apparent pride, but the real humility to compare herself. The Romans, ferocious, unjust, grasping from character, and ostentatious

\* America, in her infant state, has already burst forth into the full splendour of maturity in the immortal paintings of a *Copley* and a *West*. Further glory still attends her early progress, even in the present day, in a *Stewart*, a *Trumbull* and a *Brown*; nor is *Peale* unworthy of ranking with many modern painters of no inconsiderable fame; ages may possibly not elapse before posterity may apply to *America*, what *Mr. Tickell* has said, so happily, heretofore of the mother country,

See on her *Titian's* and her *Guido's* urns,  
Her fallen arts forlorn *Hesperia* mourns;  
While Britain wins each garland from her brow,  
Her wit and freedom first, her painting now.

For wit, let me refer the reader of taste to the poem of *Mac Fingal*, written by another *Trumbull* of Connecticut, who is justly stiled the *American Hudibras*. *Qualis ab incepto processerit, ac sibi constet.*

TRANSLATOR.

ostentatious from vanity, were able to purchase the master-pieces, but not the taste of the arts. The Americans proceeding in general from the most polished countries of Europe, have not to strip themselves of any barbarous prejudices. They ought rather to compare themselves with the Greek colonies; and certainly, Syracuse, Marseilles, Crotona, and Agrigentum had no reason to envy the mother country. There is one base on which, all they who like you are equally attached to good taste and to your country, may safely rest their hopes. Your fellow citizens live, and will long continue to live, in the vicinity of Nature; she is continually under their hands; she is always great and beautiful. Let them study; let them consult her, and they can never go astray. Caution them only, not to build too much on the pedantic legislations of Cambridge, of Oxford, and Edinburgh, which have long assumed a sort of tyranny in the empire of opinion, and seem only to have composed a vast *classic* code for no other purpose than to keep all mankind in class, as if they were still children.

Thus

Thus, Sir, you will have the complete enjoyment of the fine arts ; since you will yourselves be artists : but is it not to be feared, that the powerful attraction with which they operate on sensible minds, may divert a rising people from several more useful, though less agreeable occupations ? I am far from being of that opinion ; I think, on the contrary, that the most distinctive, and most peculiar advantage of America is that the rapid advances she is making are not laborious, that they are not due to the excess of labour. Every American has twice as much leisure in the day as an European. Necessity alone compels our painful efforts, and you are strangers to necessity. Besides that, your winters are long and rigorous, and many hours may be well spared to domestic society ; this reflexion too is applicable only to the lower classes of the people. You, who live in Virginia, know what time is sacrificed to play, to hunting, and the table ; much more than is necessary to form a *Phidias* or a *Polycletes*.

You will insist, perhaps, and you will ask, whether a taste for the arts and letters will not tend to render your fellow citizens effe-



minate? Whether it will not render them frivolous and vain? Whether the national character and manners will not necessarily be impaired, and admitting even their utility, you will desire to have their early progress, at least, conducted with a certain measure? I think, that you will find an answer to our present enquiry in many of the preceding observations. But it is time for me to establish a general principle, the extensive consequences of which you will develop better than I can ; *as long as a taste for the arts can assimilate itself with rural and domestic life, it will always be advantageous to your country, and vice versa.*——Public spectacles, gaudy assemblies, horse-races, &c. drag both men and women from the country, and inspire them with a disgust for it. Music, drawing, painting, architecture, attach all persons to their homes. A harpsichord is a neighbour always at command, who answers all your questions, and never calumniates. Three or four persons in the neighbourhood join to pass the evening together ; here is a concert ready formed. A young lady, in her irksome moments, amuses herself in drawing ; when become a wife and  
 mother

mother, she still draws, that she may instruct her children ; and here is another important article, of which I had hitherto taken no notice.—Do you wish your children to remain long attached to you ? Be yourselves their teachers. Education augments and prolongs the relation that subsists between you ; it adds to the consideration, the respect they entertain for you. They must long be persuaded, that we know more than them, and that he who teaches always knows more than the person to be taught. In America, as in England, parents spoil their children when they are young, and they abandon them to themselves when they grow up ; for, in these two nations, education is neither enough attended to, nor sufficiently prolonged. Indulgent to children in their tender age, the people there form them into petty domestic tyrants ; negligent of them when they attain to adolescence, they convert them into strangers.

At present, Sir, it seems to me, that there remains no good reason to hinder us from attracting the fine arts to America. Unfortunately it is not the same with artists. I do not think I can better express my good  
opinion

opinion of the Americans, than by declaring, that they will always incur some risk in receiving a foreigner amongst them. The Europeans, it must be confessed, have vices from which you are exempt, and they are not in general, the best amongst them who quit their country, especially who pass the seas. Let us however, do this justice to painters, and sculptors, that the assiduity of their labours, and above all that the sentiment of the beautiful, that delicacy of taste which they have acquired, render them, generally speaking, better than other men.—It is different with respect to music and dancing. Custom has thought proper to place the latter among the fine arts, nor do I oppose it, since it seems to improve our exterior, and to give us that decorum, the source of which is the respect of others, and of ourselves. But this apology for the art, does not constitute that of its professors. Distrust in general the masters who come to you from Europe; be diffident even of those you may yourselves send for. It will always be much safer not to trust to chance, but to make subscrip-

tions in each state, in each town, to engage artists to fix themselves amongst you; but in this case apply only to correspondents in Europe on whom you may rely. The commission with which you entrust them, ought to be sacred in their eyes, and the smallest negligence on their parts, would be highly criminal; yet even they are liable to be deceived; and as it is much better to defer, even for a long time, the progress of the arts, than to make the slightest step towards the corruption of your manners, it is my principal recommendation to the Americans to naturalize as much as possible, all foreign artists; to assimilate and identify them with the inhabitants of the country; to effect which, I see no better method than by sending them husbands and proprietors; act so as to induce them to marry, enable them to acquire lands, and to become citizens. It is thus that by securing the empire of morals, you will still further guard against the effect of those national prejudices, of that disdain which render foreigners so ridiculous and odious,

odious, and which reflect upon the art itself, the disgust inspired by the artist.

Henceforward, Sir, let us enlarge our views; the fine arts are adapted to America: they have already made some progress there, they will eventually make much greater; no obstacle, no reasonable objection can stop them in their career; these are points at least on which we are agreed. Let us now see to what purposes they may be converted by the public, the state, and the government. Here, a vast field opens to our speculation, but as it is exposed to every eye, I shall fix mine on the object with which it has most forcibly been struck. Recollect, Sir, what I have said above, relative to officers and public dignities; I have remarked that a jealousy, possibly well founded in itself, but pushed to the extreme, had made honours too rare, and rewards too moderate amongst you.—Call in the fine arts to the aid of a timid legislation; the latter confers neither rank, nor permanent distinction; let her bestow statues, monuments and medals. Astonished Europe, in admiring a *Washington*, a *Warren*,



a *Green*, and a *Montgomery*, demands what recompence can repay their services; behold that recompence, worthy of them and of you. Let all the great towns in America present statues of Washington, with this inscription: PATER, LIBERATOR, DEFENSOR PATRIÆ; let us see also those of *Hancock* and of *Adams*, with only two words, PRIMI PROSCRIPTI; that of *Franklin*, with the Latin verse inscribed in France below his portrait—(ERIPUIT CÆLO FULMEN, SCEPTUMQUE TYRANNI, *Translator*) &c. &c.\* what glory would not this reflect upon America! It would be found that she has already more heroes, than she could procure marble and artists.—† and your public

\* This verse is of that virtuous politician and good man, Mr. *Turgot*. The Translator has inserted it, as it seems by the author's omitting it, to be of too high a flavour for the French *censure*.

TRANSLATOR.

† Although it be highly proper to insist upon this sort of recompence, it may not be amiss that the world should know that Congress, as far as opportunity would admit, *have not been remiss* in bestowing such honourable rewards, which they have decreed in different forms on every suitable occasion to the

public halls, your *curiæ*, why should not they offer in *relief*, and paintings, the bat-

B b 3 *to be put in the* tiles

Baron de Kaalb, &c. &c. and a marble monument, was voted by that body to the memory of my inestimable friend Montgomery; soon after his glorious fall, in the following words:

*Extract from the Journals of Congress.*

Thursday, January 25, 1776.

“ The Committee appointed to consider of a proper method of paying a just tribute of gratitude to the memory of General Montgomery, brought in their report, which was as follows:

“ It being not only a tribute of gratitude justly due to the memory of those who have peculiarly distinguished themselves in the glorious cause of liberty, to perpetuate their names by the most durable monuments erected to their honour, but also greatly conducive to inspire posterity with emulation of their illustrious actions.

“ *Resolved*, That to express the veneration of the United Colonies for their late General, RICHARD MONTGOMERY, and the deep sense they entertain of the many signal and important services of that gallant officer, who, after a series of successes, amidst the most discouraging difficulties, fell at length in a gallant attack upon Quebec the capital of Canada; and to transmit to future ages, as examples truly worthy of imitation, his patriotism, conduct, boldness of enterprize, insuperable perseverance, and contempt of danger and

tles of *Bunker's-hill*, of *Saratoga*, of *Trenton*, of *Prince-town*, of *Monmouth*, of *Cowpens*

“ death; a monument be procured from *Paris*, or  
 “ other part of *France*, with an inscription sacred  
 “ to his memory, and expressive of his amiable  
 “ character, and heroic achievements, and that the  
 “ continental treasurers be directed to advance a  
 “ sum not exceeding £300 sterling to Dr. Benjamin Franklin, who is desired to see this resolution properly executed, for defraying the expence  
 “ thereof.”

This resolve was carried into execution at Paris by that ingenious artist, Mr. *Cassiers*, sculptor to the King of France, under the direction of Dr. Franklin. The monument is of white marble, of the most beautiful simplicity, and inexpressible elegance with emblematical devices, and the following truly classical inscription, worthy of the modest, but great mind of a Franklin.

#### TO THE GLORY of

Richard MONTGOMERY, Major General  
 of the Armies of the United States of America,  
 Slain at the Siege of Quebec  
 the 31st of December, 1775, aged 38 years.

The academy of inscriptions and Belles lettres, have composed medals for the Generals, Washington, Green, Gates, Morgan, &c. The State of Virginia also sent for Monsieur *Houdon* the statuary from Paris to America since the war expressly to take a model, in order to form the statue of General

*pens, of Eutaw Springs?* Thus would you perpetuate the memory of these glorious deeds;

Washington—an example however which Congress do not think proper to follow, *during the lifetime* of the General, for reasons which may possibly not be disapproved of, by the Marquis de Chestellux, even in so unexceptionable an instance.

. Over this monument, the Translator who was the intimate friend of this excellent young man, shed an affectionate, tributary tear, when at Paris in the year 1777. He had long known and looked up to him with admiration, for he was deep in the secrets of his head and heart. His attachment to liberty was innate, and matured by a fine education, and a glorious understanding. The Translator whilst he indulged his private sorrow at the sight of this sad, though noble testimonial of his friend's transcendent's virtues, felt his mind awed and overwhelmed with the magnitude of the event which led to this catastrophe, and with reflections on the wonderful revolutions, and extraordinary dispensations, of human affairs.—But a few months, and he had seen the deceased hero, an officer in the service of England, an officer too of the most distinguished merit, who had fought her battles successfully with the immortal Wolfe at Quebec, the very spot on which fighting under the standard of freedom, he was doomed to fall in arms against her; but a few months, and he sees his dead friend the subject of a monument, consecrated to his memory

deeds; thus would you maintain, even through a long peace, that national pride,

so

by the united voice of a free people, and his monument, and his fame, as a victim to tyranny, and a champion of freedom, consigned to be celebrated by an enslaved people, against whom he had often fought in defence of the same cause, in which he sacrificed his life. There is a remarkable circumstance connected with his fall, which merits to be recorded. One of General Montgomery's Aides de Camp, was Mr. *Macpherson*, a most promising young man, whose father resided at Philadelphia and was greatly distinguished in privateering in the war of 1756. This gentleman had a brother in the 16th regiment in the British service, at the time of Montgomery's expedition into Canada, and who was as violent in favour of the English government, as this General's Aide de Camp was enthusiastic in the cause of America; the latter had accompanied his General a day or two previous to the attack in which they both lost their lives, to view and meditate on the spot where Wolfe had fallen; on his return, he found a letter from his brother the English officer full of the bitterest reproaches against him for having entered into the American service, and containing a pretty direct wish, that if he would not abandon it, he might meet with the deserved fate of a rebel. The Aide de Camp immediately returned him an answer full of strong reasoning in defence of his conduct, but by no means attempting



so necessary to the preservation of liberty ; and you might, without alarming even that liberty, lavish rewards equal to the sacrifices she has received. \*

It would be injurious, Sir, to you and to your country, to insist longer on these reflections : my attention is excited by a fresh

to shake the opposite principles of his brother, and not only free from acrimony, but full of expressions of tenderness and affection ; this letter he dated, “ from the spot where Wolfe lost his life, in fighting the cause of England, *in friendship with America.*” This letter had scarcely reached the officer at New York, before it was followed by the news of his brother’s death. The effect was instantaneous, nature, and perhaps reason prevailed ; a thousand, not unworthy sentiments rushed upon his distressed mind ; he quitted the English service, entered into that of America, and fought every occasion of distinguishing himself in her service !

TRANSLATOR.

\* Mr. Trumbull son to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, who was imprisoned in England as a traitor, whilst he was studying painting under Mr. West, is now at Paris residing with Mr. Jefferson, and has finished two capital pictures of the death of *Warren* and *Montgomery*. They are esteemed *chef d’œuvres* by all the connoisseurs in this sublime art,

TRANSLATOR.

fresh object, but I should regard it also as an offence, to entertain an idea that it is necessary to call the attention of America to this object, you are desirous that the progress of the sciences also should enter into your deliberations. It is possible not to foresee their progress in a country already so celebrated for its academies, and universities, which rival those of the old world; for its learned men; I will go further, for its men of distinguished genius, whose names alone will mark famous epochs in the history of the human mind \*. Doubt not,

\* Mr. Jefferson in answer to a prejudiced remark of the Abbe Raynal, who says, “ on doit être étonné que l’ Amerique n’ ait pas encore produit un bon poëte, un habile mathématicien, un homme de génie dans un seul art, ou une seule science.” Mr. Jefferson, amidst abundance of good reasoning, says in answer, “ In war we have a *Washington*, whose memory will be adored while liberty shall have votaries, whose name will triumph over time and will in future ages assume its just station among the most celebrated worthies of the world when that wretched philosophy shall be forgotten which would have arranged him among the *degeneracies* of mankind, (see *Buffon’s* system respecting animals in America,) In physics we have

not, Sir, that America will render herself illustrious by the sciences, as well as by her arms, and government ; and if the attention of the philosopher be still necessary to watch over them, it is less to accelerate than to remove the obstacles which might possibly retard their progress. Let the universities, always too dogmatical, always too exclusive,

“ produced a *Franklin*, than whom no one of the  
 “ present age has made more important discoveries,  
 “ nor has enriched philosophy with more, or more  
 “ ingenious solutions of the phenomena of Nature.  
 “ We have supposed Mr. *Rittenhouse* second to no  
 “ astronomer living : that in *genius* he must be the  
 “ first, because he is self taught. As an artist he has  
 “ exhibited as great a proof of mechanical genius as  
 “ the world has ever produced. He has not, indeed,  
 “ made a world ; but he has by imitation approached  
 “ nearer its Maker than any man who has lived from  
 “ the creation to this day, &c. &c.” There are various ways, Mr. Jefferson adds, of keeping truth out of sight. Mr. Rittenhouse’s model of the planetary system has the plagiary appellation of an *orrery* ; and the *quadrant*, invented by *Godfrey*, an *American* also, and with the aid of which the European nations traverse the globe, is called *Hadley’s quadrant*.—Thus too, the Translator adds, is the great *Columbus* robbed of the honour of giving his name to *America* !

TRANSLATOR.

exclusive, be charged only to form good scholars, and leave to an unrestrained philosophy the care of forming good men. In England, the universities have laboured to destroy scepticism, and from that period philosophy has been visibly on the decline, it seems as if the English, in every thing, wish only for a *half liberty*. Leave owls and bats to flutter in the doubtful perspicuity of a feeble twilight; the American eagle should fix her eyes upon the sun. Nothing proves to me that it is not good to know the truth, and what has error hitherto produced?—the misery of the world.

As for academies, they will always be useful, whilst they are very numerous. An academican is a senator of the republic of letters; he takes an oath to advance nothing he cannot prove; he consecrates his life to truth, with a promise to sacrifice to it, even his self-love. Such men cannot be numerous; such men ought not to be thrown into discredit, by associates unworthy of them. But if academical principles tend to make science austere and scrupulous, the encouragements proposed

to

to the public ought to excite every mind, and furnish a free channel for opinion. Of this nature are prizes proposed by the academies ; it is by their means that the activity of men's minds is directed towards the most useful objects ; it is to them that first efforts are indebted for celebrity ; it is by them also the young man thirsting for glory is dispensed with fighting long after her first favours. The more the sciences approach perfection, the more rare do discoveries become ; but America has the same advantage in the learned world, as in that which constitutes our residence. The extent of her empire submits to her observation a large portion of heaven and earth. What observations may not be made between Penobscot and Savannah ? between the lakes and the ocean ? Natural history and astronomy are her peculiar appendages, and the first of these sciences at least, is susceptible of great improvement.

Morals are a branch of philosophy lately in great repute. As for myself, it appears that wherever the legislation is good, morals are already formed ; and where the legislation



gillation is defective, I know not the use of morals. It is in this case in general, as with health; little attention is paid to it until it be lost. Moralists too, are like physicians and apothecaries, whom a good regimen would render useless, and who not unfrequently serve but to amuse our anxiety, and to treat our imagination. Preserve a good government, render the people mild and sensible, and they will make morals for themselves.

With respect to religion, its object, and end, conceal it from our observations: as it considers not the relations of men with each other, but their connection with God alone, its influence ought to be internal and personal; and whenever it extends further, it is invariably at the expence of public order. I cannot, therefore, but congratulate America on being the only country possessing true toleration, which has not only triumphed over superstition, but which makes even the enemies of superstition blush at the ignominious compromises they have made with her. But that none of those objects which interest you, Sir, may pass before

fore our eyes without inducing some reflections, I shall allow myself to make one, which, I trust, will meet with indulgence from a philosopher.

All the religions established in America, agree in one very important point; they proscribe all superstition, all dependence on any external power; but they agree also in a practice which seems to me to have no necessary connection with the Protestant tenets. I mean the extreme severity with which they observe the Sunday. This day is consecrated to divine worship: be it so; but it is also consecrated to rest, and what is this repose without gaiety, without relaxation? I venture to say, that in America, you neither know the pain of labour, nor the pleasure of repose, what a gloomy silence reigns in all your towns on Sunday! a stranger would imagine that some epidemic, or plague, had obliged every one to confine himself at home\*.—Transport yourself to Europe,

\* Whilst I was at Boston, in 1782, there were violent debates in the assembly, and the senate, respecting the duration of the Sabbath—one party were

Europe, and especially to a Catholic country; behold, on the same day, when divine service is over, the people deluging the squares,

for having it consist of *six and thirty* hours, commencing at six o'clock on the Saturday evening, whilst the others insisted on abridging it to *eighteen*, reckoning from the midnight of Saturday, and finishing at six on the Sunday evening; the former proposition passed the assembly where the country interest prevailed, but was thrown out in the senate by the predominant interest of the merchants, aided by good sense, and the palpable absurdity of such a regulation in a commercial country abounding with strangers. Mr. *Cobbet*, a very sensible man, and a rich merchant of Beverley, distinguished himself on this occasion by a speech full of eloquence and wit. As far as my memory serves me, the sabbath is at length wisely limited to eighteen hours, I say wisely, for not even travelling is permitted on a Sunday in the New England States, insomuch that you are at every instant liable to be stopped by force, and carried by the *deacons* before a magistrate, who inflicts a fine, and puts an end to your journey for the day. This ridiculous and unmeaning austerity will probably be some day put an end to, by the fatal exit of one of these bigotted officers of the church tribunal, who may possibly be mistaken by some sturdy traveller, or stranger, by seizing his horse by the bridle, for a *knight of the pad*; for, pleasantry apart, this is by no means an improbable prediction. TRANSLATOR.

Squares, and public walks, and hurrying in crouds towards the suburbs, towards the neighbouring villages, where a thousand taverns are open to receive them; every where your ear is saluted with songs, and instrumental music; every where your eyes are entertained with gay and animated dances. It is a truly affecting spectacle to see the artizan pressing towards the *Guinguettes*, or houses of entertainment; under one arm he holds his wife, drest in her best array, the other serves him to carry the youngest of his children, whilst the remaining one, who is able to walk, fastens on his mother's hand, and strives to follow her; this whole family are going to rejoice together. If the wine gives rise to some quarrels, they are appeased by the women, who prevent that excess of drinking to which men are but too subject; the family drink and dance amongst themselves, and this happy day frequently encroaches on the night, and always terminates too soon. In America, it is the reverse; as there is nothing but idleness without the resource of either sport or dance, the sexes separate, the

women at a loss what to do with their fine dress, which has shone only at the church or meeting, fall into a state of wretched listlessness, which is only to be diverted by frivolous discourse, and scandal; whilst the men, wearied with reading the bible to their children, assemble round a bowl, not prepared by joy, and at the bottom of which they find nothing but stupid intoxication.

I know not, Sir, whether the following principle be that of a philosopher, or only of a Frenchman; but I am of opinion that every amusement which separates the women from the men, is contrary to the welfare of society, is calculated to render one of the sexes clownish, and the other slovenly, and to destroy, in short, that sensibility, the source of which Nature has placed in the intercourse between the sexes.

Weigh these reflections, Sir, which are not so frivolous, perhaps, as they appear. Happiness is only composed of enjoyments; now, Sundays make the seventh part of our lives, and if you deduct from the people their days of extraordinary labour, you will



see that they constitute the half of our best time. Make happy days, then, of Sundays, give them to America, and you will have conferred on them an inestimable present.

These observations on the sabbath, on the day of repose which succeeds to labour, seem to apprise me that mine is at an end. May it not appear longer to you, than it has to myself, and may you, after bestowing on me some moments of attention, not feel too sensibly the want of that dissipation I have just been extolling. Recognize at least, Sir, in this feeble essay, my devotion to your will, and the sincere attachment with which I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

On board the frigate L'Emeraude, in the Bay of Chesapeake, the 12th of January, 1783.

*C. C. 2. 1783. Description*

*Description of the Natural Bridge, called in  
Virginia, Rocky Bridge.*

ON my return from my journey in Upper Virginia, I regretted not having been able to take the dimensions of the Natural Bridge. I was anxious that some person, who was at once a designer and geometrician, should undertake an expedition to the Apalachians for that sole object, and that he should be provided with the instruments necessary for accomplishing it with accuracy. No man was more capable of this than the Baron de Turpin, Captain in the royal corps of *Génie*; for in him were united all those branches of knowledge, which are carried to so great a height in the corps to which he belongs, with the talent of designing with as much facility as precision; besides which, he was well enough acquainted with the English language to dispense with an interpreter. I proposed, therefore, to the Comte de Rochambeau, to charge him with this commission, which I was confident he would acquit with pleasure.

sure. The General thought that it would be rendering a fresh service to the Americans, to make them acquainted with one of the wonders which render their country celebrated, and that it would be pleasant enough for Frenchmen to be the first to give them a precise idea and a correct plan of it \*. The Baron de Turpin set out, therefore, in

C c 3

the

\* So interesting an object could not escape the curiosity and observations of Mr. *Jefferson* †. He had measured the height and breadth of the natural bridge, of which he speaks in an excellent memoir composed in 1781, a few copies of which he printed last year under the modest title of *Notes upon Virginia*, or rather without any title, for this work has never been made public. We hope, however, the precious documents on natural philosophy, as well as politics, contained in that work, will not be lost to the

† The following is Mr. JEFFERSON's account of the Natural Bridge alluded to in this note, which I am happy in being able to lay before the reader:

“ The *Natural Bridge*, the most sublime of Nature's works, is  
 “ on the ascent of a hill, which seems to have been cloven thro-  
 “ its length by some great convulsion. The fissure, just at the  
 “ bridge, is by some admeasurements 270 feet deep, by others only  
 “ 205. It is about 45 feet wide at the bottom, and 90 feet at the  
 “ top; this of course determines the length of the bridge, and its  
 “ height from the water. Its breadth in the middle is about 60  
 “ feet, but more at the ends, and the thickness of the mass at the  
 “ summit of the arch, about 40 feet. A part of this thickness is  
 “ constituted by a coat of earth, which gives growth to many large

the beginning of May, and in three weeks brought me back five plans, three of which are

public. A well known man of letters † has made use of them, and we recommend the perusal of a work, which will speedily make its appearance under the title of *Observations on Virginia*.

“ trees. The residue, with the hill on both sides, is one solid rock  
 “ of limestone. The arch approaches the semi-elliptical form ;  
 “ but the larger axis of the elipses, which would be the cord of  
 “ the arch, is many times longer than the transverse. Though the  
 “ sides of the bridge are provided in some parts with a parapet of  
 “ fixed rocks, yet few men have resolution to walk to them, and  
 “ look over into the abyfs. You involuntarily fall on your hands  
 “ and feet, creep to the parapet, and look over it. Looking down  
 “ from this height about a minute, gave me a violent head-ach.  
 “ If the view from the top be painful and intolerable, that from  
 “ below is delightful in the extreme, It is impossible for the  
 “ emotions arising from the sublime to be felt beyond what they  
 “ are here : on the sight of so beautiful an arch, so elevated, so  
 “ light, and springing as it were up to heaven, the rapture of the  
 “ spectator is really indescribable ! The fissure continuing nar-  
 “ row, deep, and streight for a considerable distance above and be-  
 “ low the bridge, opens a short but very pleasing view of the  
 “ North Mountain on one side, and Blue Ridge on the other, at  
 “ the distance each of them of about five miles. This bridge is in  
 “ the county of *Rockbridge*, to which it has given name, and affords  
 “ a public and commodious passage over a valley, which cannot  
 “ be crossed elsewhere for a considerable distance. The stream  
 “ passing under it is called Cedar Creek. It is a water of James  
 “ river, and sufficient, in the drier seasons, to turn a grist mill,  
 “ though its fountain is not more than two miles above.”

TRANSLATOR.

† Monsieur De Meunier, in his new article of *Etats Unis* in the last *Livraison* of *La Nouvelle Encyclopedie*, and the Abbe de Morlaix, who is translating them into French.

TRANSLATOR.

are engraved and annexed to this work. Two of them present perspectives, taken from the two sides of the Natural Bridge, and from the bottom of the valley from whence it springs. The third is a bird's-eye view, and represents a part of the country in which it is. The two others being only supposed sections of this bridge where it holds by the bank, and which may be considered as its abutment, I have not thought proper to have engraved, to avoid multiplying the plates necessary to be given with this work. As to the dimensions, they are as follows, as given me by M. de Turpin :

“ The Natural Bridge forms an arch of fifteen toises (six feet English) in length, of that species we denominate *the Cow's Horn* : the chord of this arch is seventeen toises at the head of *Amont*, and nine at that of *Aval*, and the right arch is the segment of an ellipse, so flat that the small axis is only a twelfth of the large one. The mass of rock and stone which loads this arch is forty-nine feet solid on the key of the great centre, and thirty-seven on that of the small one ; and as we find about the

same



same difference in taking the level of the hill, it may be supposed that the roof is on a level, the whole length of the key. It is proper to observe, that the live rock continues also the whole thickness of the arch, and that on the opposite side it is only 25 feet wide, in its greatest breadth, and becomes gradually narrower.

“ The whole arch seems to be formed of one and the same stone, for the joints which one remarks at the head of *Amont*, are the effect of lightning, which struck this part in 1779; the other head has not the smallest vein, and the *intrados* is so smooth, that the martins, which fly round it in great numbers, cannot fasten on it \*. The abutments, which have a gentle slope, are entire; and, without being absolute planes, have all the polish which a current of water would give to unhewn stone in a certain time. The four rocks adjacent to the abutments seem to be perfectly homogeneous, and to have a very trifling slope. The two rocks on the right bank of the river are of the same nature as the others. The *violet*

\* See at the end of this article a note, which was too long to be inserted under the text.

vulet are 200 feet high above the surface of the water, the *intrados* of the arch 150, and the two rocks on the left bank 180.

“ If we consider this bridge simply as a picturesque object, we are struck with the majesty with which it towers in the valley. The white oaks, which grow upon it, seem to rear their lofty summits to the clouds; whilst the same trees, which border on the rivulet, appear like shrubs. As for the naturalist, he must content himself with such observations as may guide a more hardy philosopher to form some probable conjecture on the origin of this extraordinary mass.

“ From every part of the arch, and of its supporters, cubic pieces of three or four lines dimension were taken, and placed successively in the same aqua fortis; the former were dissolved in less than half an hour; the others required more time, but this must be attributed to the diminution of strength of the aqua fortis, which lost its activity in proportion as it became saturated.

“ We see that these rocks being of a calcareous

careous nature, exclude every idea of a volcano, which besides cannot be reconciled with the form of the bridge and its adjacent parts. If it be supposed that this astonishing arch is the effect of a current of water, we must suppose likewise that this current has had the force to break down, and carry to a great distance, a mass of 5000 cubic fathoms, for there remains not the slightest trace of such an operation. The blocks found under the arch, and a little below it, have their interior positions marked on the collateral pendants on the side of *Aval*, and are occasioned by no other demolition than that of the bridge itself, which is said to have been one third wider.

“ The excavation of eight or ten inches, formed in the *pied droit*, or supporter, on the left bank of the stream, under the spring of the arch, lengthens it into the form of a crow’s beak. This decay, and some other parts which are blown up, give reason to presume that this surprising edifice will one day become a victim of that time which has destroyed so many others.”

Such

Such are the observations, the Baron de Turpin brought back with him, and with which he was pleased to favour me. As their accuracy may be relied on, perhaps it would be sufficient to transcribe them here, and leave the reader to exercise his thoughts on the causes which could produce this sort of prodigy. This was in fact the resolution I had taken, when, abandoned to my own powers, of which I was justly diffident, I was writing at Williamsburgh, and for myself alone, the Journal of my late expedition. A Spanish work, however, which fell into my hands, confirmed me in the opinion I at first had entertained, that it was to the labour only of the Creator that we owe the magnificent construction of the Natural Bridge. The opinion of the Count de Buffon, whom I have since consulted, has left me no doubt upon the subject. His sublime conceptions of the different epochs of nature should have been sufficient to put me in the way; but the disciple, who knows how to do justice to himself, is timid, even in the application of his master's principles. But, whoever has travelled in  
America,

America, becomes a witness entitled to depose in favour of that genius whose oracles frequently meet with too many opposers. If it be necessary to justify what the Montesquieus, the Humes, the Voltaires have said on the fatal effects heretofore produced by superstition, by ignorance, and prejudice, we might still, in surveying Europe, find whole nations which would present to us the picture of what we were 300 years ago. Nations, which are, so to speak, the contemporaries of past ages, and the truth of historical facts would be demonstrated by those to which we ourselves are witnesses. It is the same in America with respect to the epoch of Nature, and all the documents of natural history. In visiting this part of the world, you think yourself removed back a whole epoch; the lower grounds, the plains are watered by such large rivers, and intersected by so many creeks; the coasts are so frequently divided by gulphs, and arms of the sea, which seem to conduct the waves to the very heart of the country, and to the very foot of the mountains, that it is impossible not to be persuaded



persuaded that all this part of the Continent is not of new creation, and produced entirely by successive ebbings of the water. On the other hand, if we observe that all the high mountains form long chains parallel with each other, and almost in a direction North and South; that the greatest part of the rivers, which fall into the ocean, take their origin in the narrow vallies which separate these mountains, and that after following their direction for a considerable space, they turn suddenly towards the East, pierce the mountains, and at length reach the sea, acquiring magnitude as they proceed; we shall be apt to think ourselves, if not contemporaries, at least not far removed from that epoch of Nature, when the waters collected to an extraordinary height in hollow vallies, were striving to break down their dykes, still uncertain of the means to be adopted for making their escape; we shall be led to think that the motion of the earth on its axis, or the westerly winds, which in North America correspond with the trade winds of the Tropics, and of which they are possibly the effect, have at length

length determined the motion of the waters towards the East. In which case, one of these two circumstances might happen ; either that the waters having exceeded the heights of the least lofty summits which opposed their passage, formed a sort of gutters, by which the superfluity escaped ; or that unable to attain the height of these mountains, they met with some softer parts of the greater mass itself, which they first slipped, and then entirely penetrated. In the first case, if the declivity was very steep, and the rock which served by way of apron was very hard, they would form a cataract, but where the declivity was less rapid, and the soil less compact, the waters not only will have formed the gutter which served them as a passage, but have overthrown and hurried along with them the lands, forming them into long *glacis*, which would lose themselves finally in the plains. Thus Hudson's River, the Delaware, the Potowmack, James River, and many others, have opened ways for themselves to the sea, by piercing the mountains at angles, more or less approaching to right angles, and forming,

ing, more or less, spacious vallies. In the second case, the waters unable to pass the mountains, unless below their summits, must have left above them a sort of *calotte*, or arch, similar to that of the Natural Bridge. But how many chances are there, both that these arches must fall down after a certain time, especially when the beds of the rivers becoming deeper and deeper, the burthen becomes too weighty, and they have lost their bases! \*

\* Mr. *Jefferson*, in his excellent *Notes on Virginia*, seems to lean to the system of *Buffon*, in the following sublime and animated description :

“ The courses of the (following) great rivers of  
“ Virginia, says he, are at right angles with the  
“ long chain of mountains, known in the *European*  
“ *maps* by the name of the Apalachian Mountains.  
“ James and Potama penetrate through all the  
“ ridges of mountains eastward of the Alleghaney.  
“ That is, broken by no watercourse, it is in fact  
“ the spine of the country between the Atlantic on  
“ one side, and the Mississippi and St. Laurence  
“ on the other. The passages of the Patowmac  
“ through the Blue Ridge is perhaps one of the  
“ most stupendous scenes in nature ; you stand on  
“ a very high point of land. On your right comes  
“ up the *Shenandoah*, having ranged along the foot  
“ of the mountains an hundred miles to seek a  
“ vent.

Do we still doubt of the probability of  
this hypothesis? Do we wish for more  
striking

“ vent. On your left approaches the *Patowmac*,  
“ in quest of a passage also. In the moment of  
“ their junction they rush together against the  
“ mountain, rend it asunder, and pass off to the  
“ sea. The first glance of this scene hurries our  
“ senses into the opinion that this earth had been  
“ created in time, that the mountains were formed  
“ first, that the rivers began to flow afterwards, that  
“ in this place particularly they have been dammed  
“ up by the Blue Ridge of mountains, and have  
“ formed an ocean which filled the whole valley;  
“ that continuing to rise, they have at length broken  
“ over at this spot, and have torn the mountain  
“ down from its summit to its base. The piles of  
“ rock on each hand, but particularly on the She-  
“ nandoah, the evident marks of their disrapture  
“ evulsion from their beds, by the most powerful  
“ agents of Nature, corroborate the impression.  
“ But the distant finishing which Nature has given  
“ to the picture, is of a very different character. It  
“ is a true contrast to the fore ground. It is as placid  
“ and delightful as that is wild and tremendous.  
“ For the mountain being cloven asunder, she pre-  
“ sents to your eye, through the cleft, a small catch  
“ of smooth blue horizon, at an infinite distance in  
“ the plain country, inviting you, as it were, from  
“ the riot and tumult roaring around, to pass through  
“ the breach, and partake of the calm below. Here  
“ the



striking tokens, more evident traces of the operation of the waters, let us continue to

“ the eye ultimately composes itself; and that way  
 “ too the road happens actually to lead. You cross  
 “ the Patowmac above the junction, pass along its  
 “ side through the base of the mountain for three  
 “ miles, its terrible precipices hanging in fragments  
 “ over you, and within about twenty miles reach Fre-  
 “ deric Town, and the fine country round it. This  
 “ scene is worth a voyage across the Atlantic. Yet  
 “ here, as in the neighbourhood of the Natural  
 “ Bridge, are people who have passed their lives  
 “ within half a dozen miles, and have never been to  
 “ survey these monuments of a war between rivers  
 “ and mountains, which must have shaken the earth  
 “ itself to its centre.”

Mr. *Charles Thompson*, Secretary to Congress, in an Appendix to Mr. Jefferson's work, adds the following remarks on the same subject. The reader will pardon, I am confident, the length of these extracts from a work so highly interesting, and which is not yet given to the public.

“ The reflections,” says Mr. Thompson, “ I was  
 “ led into on viewing this passage of the Patowmac  
 “ through the Blue Ridge were, that this country  
 “ must have suffered some violent convulsion, and  
 “ that the face of it must have been changed from  
 “ what it was probably some centuries ago: that the  
 “ broken and ragged faces of the mountain on each  
 “ side the river, the tremendous rocks which are left  
 “ with one end fixed in the precipice, and the others



travel in America; let us go into the vicinity of the Ohio, on the banks of the river

“ jutting out, and seemingly ready to fall for want  
“ of support; the bed of the river for several miles  
“ below obstructed and filled with the loose stones  
“ carried from this mound; in short, every thing on  
“ which you cast your eye, evidently demonstrates a  
“ disrapture and breach in the mountain, and that,  
“ before this happened, what is now a fruitful vale  
“ was formerly a great lake or collection of water,  
“ which possibly might have here formed a mighty  
“ cascade, or had its vent to the ocean by the Sus-  
“ quehanna, where the Blue Ridge seems to termi-  
“ nate. Besides this, there are other parts of this  
“ country which bear evident traces of a like convul-  
“ sion. From the best accounts I have been able to  
“ obtain, the place where the Delaware now flows  
“ through the Kittatinny mountain, which is a con-  
“ tinuation of what is called the North Ridge or  
“ Mountain, was not its original course, but that it  
“ passed through what is now called, “ The Wind  
“ Gap,” a place several miles to the Westward, and  
“ above an hundred feet higher than the present bed  
“ of the river. This Wind Gap is about a mile  
“ broad, and the stones in it such as seem to have  
“ been washed for ages by water running over them.  
“ Should this have been the case, there must have  
“ been a large lake behind that mountain, and by  
“ some uncommon swell of the waters, or by some  
“ convulsion of Nature, the river must have opened

ver Kentucké; we may there observe what follows, or rather what the recent historian

D d 2

of

“ its way through a different part of the mountain,  
 “ and meeting there with less obstruction, carried  
 “ away with it the opposing mounds of earth, and  
 “ deluged the country below with the immense col-  
 “ lection of waters to which this passage gave vent.  
 “ There are still remaining, and daily discovered,  
 “ innumerable instances of such a deluge on both  
 “ sides of the river, after it passed the hills above the  
 “ falls of Trenton, and reached the Champaign.  
 “ On the New Jersey side, which is flatter than the  
 “ Pennsylvania side, all the country below Cresswick  
 “ hills seems to have been overflowed to the distance  
 “ of from ten to fifteen miles back from the river,  
 “ and to have acquired a new soil by the earth and  
 “ clay brought down and mixed with the native sand.  
 “ The spot on which Philadelphia stands evident-  
 “ ly appears to be made ground. The different  
 “ strata through which they pass in digging to wa-  
 “ ter, the acorns, leaves, and sometimes branches  
 “ which are found above twenty feet below the sur-  
 “ face, all seem to demonstrate this †. I am in-

† From an accurate topographical observation of the mountainous parts of England, and other countries, on these principles, might we not be able to solve various phenomena which present themselves in the plains bordering upon rivers, that is to say, within reach of such a supposed overflow of waters; the quantity of large solid oak timber, for example, found in *Walke Colliery* near Newcastle, on the banks of the river Tyne, at the prodigious depth of 120 fathoms?

TRANSLATOR.

of that country \* has written. “ Amongst  
 “ the natural curiosities of this territory,  
 “ the

“ formed that at York-Town in Virginia, in the  
 “ bank of York river, there are different strata of  
 “ shells and earth, one above another, which seem  
 “ to point out that the country there has under-  
 “ gone several changes, that the sea has for a suc-  
 “ cession of ages occupied the place where dry land  
 “ now appears, and that the ground has been sud-  
 “ denly raised at various periods. What a change  
 “ would it make in the country below, should the  
 “ mountains at Niagara, by any accident, be cleft  
 “ asunder, and a passage suddenly opened to drain  
 “ off the waters of lake Erie and the upper lakes !  
 “ While ruminating on these subjects, I have often  
 “ been hurried away by Fancy, and led to imagine  
 “ that what is now the bay of Mexico was once a  
 “ champaign country, and that from the point or  
 “ cape of Florida, there was a continued range of  
 “ mountains through Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto Ri-  
 “ co, Martinique, Guadaloupe, Barbadoes and Tri-  
 “ nidad, till it reached the coast of America, and  
 “ formed the shores which bounded the ocean and  
 “ guarded the country behind: that by some con-  
 “ vulsion or shock of Nature the sea had broken  
 “ through these mounds and deluged that vast plain  
 “ till it reached the foot of the Andes; that being  
 “ there heaped up by the trade winds, always blow-  
 “ ing

\* Mr. Filson, whose work is lately translated into  
 French.

TRANSLATOR

“ the winding banks, or rather the preci-  
 “ pice of Kentucké, and of the river Dick,  
 “ merit the first rank. The astonished  
 “ eye beholds, almost on every side, 3 or  
 “ 400 feet of a calcareous rock, perpendi-  
 “ cularly cut; in some places a beautiful  
 “ white marble, curiously shaped in arches  
 “ or in columns, or piled upon a fine  
 “ stone for building. These precipices,  
 “ as I have already observed, resemble the  
 “ sides of a deep trench, or a canal, the  
 “ earth around being level, except in the  
 “ course of the rivulets, and covered with  
 “ groves of red cedar; you can only cross  
 “ this river at certain places, one of which  
 “ is worthy of admiration: It is a high-  
 “ way formed by the buffaloes, and wide

D d 3

“ enough

“ ing from one quarter, it had found its way back,  
 “ as it continues to do, through the gulph between  
 “ Florida and Cuba, carrying with it the loom and  
 “ sand it may have scooped from the country it  
 “ had occupied, part of which it may have depo-  
 “ sited on the shores of North America, and with  
 “ part formed the banks of the Newfoundland.—  
 “ But these are only the visions of Fancy.” The  
 Translator adds, but they are the sublime visions of  
 a great and enlightened mind. TRANSLATOR.



“ enough for waggons, in a gentle slope;  
 “ from the summit of the foot of a very  
 “ steep eminence, close to the river above  
 “ Lees-Town.”

But let us consult Don Joseph d'Ulloa, already so celebrated by his Voyages; he is the author of the above-mentioned Spanish book, entitled, *Noticias Americanas*, in which he gives very curious and minute descriptions of all Spanish America. In the article I am going to translate, he begins by remarking a very sensible difference between the mountains in America, situated under the torrid zone, and those we observe in other parts of the globe; for although the height of the latter be often very considerable, as the ground rises gradually, and their combined summits form immense countries, they who inhabit them may be ignorant of their elevation above the level of the sea; whereas those of America being separated, and, so to speak, cloven their whole height, give incessantly the idea, and even the measure of their prodigious altitude. “ In this part of the world,” adds he, the earth is intersected by pro-  
 “ found



“ found trenches (*quebradas*) of a very  
 “ considerable width, since they form the  
 “ separation of the mountains from each  
 “ other, and form frequently an opening,  
 “ of more than two leagues, at the upper  
 “ part of them. This space becomes con-  
 “ tracted in proportion as they are more  
 “ or less profound; and it is in the bottom  
 “ of this kind of vallies that the rivers  
 “ flow, which almost regularly occupy the  
 “ middle, leaving an equal extent of level  
 “ ground on each side of them. But what  
 “ is most remarkable, is, that the angles  
 “ or sinuosities formed by these rivers, cor-  
 “ respond perfectly with those we observe  
 “ to the right and left in the segments of  
 “ these mountains; so that if we could at  
 “ once bring together the two sides of these  
 “ vallies, we should have a solid mass,  
 “ without any interruption. The rivers  
 “ pursue their course in these embank-  
 “ ments, until they reach the plain, and  
 “ from thence the ocean. In this latter  
 “ part of their career, their bed is not deep,  
 “ and their bottom is nearly on a level  
 “ with the sea. Thus it may in general  
 “ be

“ be remarked, that the more lofty the  
“ mountains of the Cordelliers, the more  
“ profound is the bed of the rivers which  
“ flow through their vallies.”

“ In the province of *Angaras*, amongst  
“ the *lufus Naturæ*, with which these coun-  
“ tries abound, there is one which me-  
“ rits particular attention. This province,  
“ which is a dependency of *Guancavelica*,  
“ is divided into feveral departments; in  
“ one of these departments, called *Conaica*,  
“ is the small village of *Vinas*, fituated at  
“ nine leagues diftance from *Conaica*.  
“ About midway between them, is a moun-  
“ tain known by the name of *Corofunta*:  
“ on arriving at the foot of this moun-  
“ tain, you enter into a cleft, or if you  
“ will, an opening, through which flows  
“ the rivulet of *Chapllancas*; this rivulet  
“ enters an embankment the breadth of  
“ which is from twenty to five-and-twenty  
“ feet, and its height upwards of forty;  
“ without being perceptibly wider at the  
“ fuperior than the inferior part. This  
“ gap, which is occupied in its whole  
“ width by the fream, forms the only  
commu-

“ communication that exists between *Vinas*  
“ and *Conaica*. You can only cross the ri-  
“ ver in those places where, as I have already  
“ said, the opening is twenty feet broad,  
“ and you are obliged to cross it nine times,  
“ taking advantage of those places where  
“ it departs a little from the rock, which  
“ only happens where it has formed some  
“ sinuosities; for when its course is direct,  
“ it exactly fills the opening through which  
“ it passes. This trench is formed out of  
“ the live rock, and with so much regula-  
“ rity, that all the prominent parts of  
“ one side, correspond perfectly with the  
“ recipient parts or indentures of the other  
“ in its whole height; insomuch that it  
“ might be taken for a canal cut express-  
“ ly for the passage of the water, and  
“ which had been executed with so com-  
“ plete a symmetry, as that the two sides  
“ might exactly fit each other, without  
“ leaving the smallest interstice between  
“ them. There is no danger in travelling  
“ this road, for the rock is too solid to  
“ give any apprehension of its crumbling,  
“ and the small river is not rapid enough

“ to

“ to endanger boats ; yet it is difficult to  
“ suppress a sentiment of terror, on find-  
“ ing yourself engaged in this narrow gap,  
“ the two sides of which, from their per-  
“ fect correspondence, present the idea of  
“ a box half opened for a moment, and  
“ always ready to close upon you.”

“ The cavity I have been describing  
“ is so much the more worthy our obser-  
“ vation, as it may be looked upon as a  
“ model, or example of what the vallies of  
“ the Cordilleras have been, when in their  
“ origin they did not exceed the depth of  
“ this ; for their sides, which now form a  
“ gentle slope, were then doubtless per-  
“ pendicularly cut, and it was not until  
“ the waters undermined them to a great  
“ depth, that the upper parts being over-  
“ loaded, have successively crumbled down.  
“ This analogy is even confirmed by the  
“ decay to be observed in the embank-  
“ ment formed by the *Chapllancas* ; a waste  
“ occasioned by the slow and successive  
“ effect of the rains and frost, and the  
“ crevices produced by the sun, but which  
“ are less sensible there than elsewhere, be-  
“ cause



“ cause the rock is harder, more solid,  
“ and more continuous, not being inter-  
“ rupted by any bed of earth, or other  
“ matter easily to be dissolved or crumbled.  
“ Every thing therefore leads to a con-  
“ clusion, that the waters alone have form-  
“ ed this canal in the form we now see it,  
“ and that they will continue to augment  
“ its depth, since we know that time alone  
“ is sufficient to reduce the hardest stone  
“ to a fine and almost imperceptible sand,  
“ and that this progress is already discover-  
“ able from the little fragments of stone  
“ visible at the bottom of the river, as well  
“ as from those it carries to the plain;  
“ when, finding a more extensive range, it  
“ begins to enlarge its surface.”

“ Whether we attribute the origin of  
“ this canal to the friction of the waters  
“ which have gradually deepened it, or  
“ whether we suppose the mountain to have  
“ been rent assunder by an earthquake, so  
“ as to open a new passage for this river  
“ which flowed antecedently in another di-  
“ rection; it is still certain that such an  
“ aperture can not have existed at the epo-  
“ cha



“ cha immediately subsequent to the de-  
“ luge. It is the same with respect to the  
“ larger embankments of this kind, known  
“ by the name of *Quebradas*, and which are  
“ frequently to be met with in the upper  
“ part of South America. It is evident that  
“ they have been formed equally by the la-  
“ bour of the waters ; for on the one hand,  
“ we know that the rapidity of their cur-  
“ rent is capable of wrenching off stones  
“ of an extraordinary size ; and on the  
“ other, we have manifest proofs of the  
“ continual effort made by them to deepen  
“ their bed, an effort the traces of which  
“ are discovered in the huge blocks they  
“ have formed into the shape of dice, or  
“ cubes, as often as the rocks oppose too  
“ much existence to them to admit of their  
“ dividing and clearing away the whole ex-  
“ tent of the bottom on which they exercise  
“ their activity. In the river of *Ifuchaca*,  
“ near the village of that name, is a large  
“ mass of stone, of a regular square form,  
“ and each side of which may be above five  
“ and thirty or forty feet. When the wa-  
“ ters are low, it rises five-and-twenty  
“ feet

“ feet above their level. But to account  
“ for the form of these large cubic masses,  
“ as well as of other smaller ones, which  
“ are often to be found in the bed of ri-  
“ vers, and which are all regularly shaped,  
“ we must suppose that the waters have suc-  
“ cessively torn and wrenched off the rocks  
“ by which they were surrounded, thus  
“ leaving them single, and isolated, in their  
“ present form; but this only until the  
“ beds of the rivers becoming deeper and  
“ deeper, the waters meet at their bases  
“ with some veins of earth or other mat-  
“ ter easy of dissolution; for in that case  
“ they will undermine and unset them,  
“ (so to speak) so as one day to displace  
“ them entirely and hurry them along.  
“ These masses, once in motion, will shock  
“ either those on the banks, those they  
“ meet with in the bed even of the ri-  
“ ver, which breaking and being reduced  
“ to various masses of less demension, will  
“ be the more easily drifted. Such is with-  
“ out doubt the origin of all those stones  
“ we see under the water, or on the banks,  
“ some of which are very small, and others  
“ so

“ so enormous, that no human effort is  
“ able to remove them. As to the extra-  
“ ordinary profundity of those vallies or  
“ *Quebradas*, one example will be suffi-  
“ cient to give an idea of it. The town  
“ of *Guanvelica* is built in a valley form-  
“ ed by different chains of mountains;  
“ the barometer there stands at eighteen  
“ inches, one line and an half (this mean  
“ term is taken between eighteen inches  
“ and a quarter, and eighteen inches one  
“ third, which form the greatest variation  
“ of the barometer at that place); accord-  
“ ing to this height of the mercury, the  
“ elevation above the level of the sea  
“ should be 1949 toises. On the sum-  
“ mit of the mountain in which is the  
“ mine of *Afoguès*, a spot still habitable,  
“ and which is itself as much lower than  
“ other adjacent heights, as it is higher  
“ than the town of *Guanvelica*, the mer-  
“ cury only stands at sixteen inches just,  
“ which gives 2337 toises above the level  
“ of the sea, and about 500 toises for the  
“ depth of the *Quebrada*, or valley of *Guan-  
“ velica*, which seems to be no other than  
“ the

“ the deepened bed of the river we now  
 “ see flowing through the middle of it.”

After so many observations on the extraordinary effects of the waters, have we not some foundation for supposing that the Natural Bridge is also their production; and ought we not to regard it as a sort of *Quebrada*? When the vallies of the Apalachians were only vast lakes, in which the waters were retained prisoners, this little valley, whose depth they traverse, may have served as a partial reservoir, wherein they have remained even after those of the large vallies made their escape. The mass of the rock out of which the Natural Bridge is excavated, may have served them as a barrier, but whether it be that they have not risen to the summit of the rock, or whether they succeeded more easily in sapping the lower part of it, they will in either case have left subsisting that immense gap which form the arch such as we now see it. It would be useless, and perhaps rash, to endeavour minutely to explain the manner in which the bending of this vault has been so regularly traced out; but the cause once understood,



understood, all the effects, however varied, and however astonishing they may appear, must have the same origin. We may observe besides, that the greatest bend of this vault corresponds with the angle formed by the valley in this place, insomuch that the rock seems to have been the more worked upon, as the effort of the waters have been more considerable. However this may be, I leave every one at liberty to form such conjectures as he pleases \*, and as I have said

\* Mr. *Jefferson*, after speaking of the above passage of the Spanish author, differs from him and from the Marquis de Chastellux, in their reasoning on the probable causes of its production, as follows :  
 “ Don Ulloa inclines to the opinion, that this  
 “ channel has been effected by the wearing of the  
 “ water which runs through it, rather than that the  
 “ mountain should have been broken open by any  
 “ convulsion of Nature. But if it had been worn  
 “ by the running of the water, would not the rocks,  
 “ which form the sides, have been worn plane ? or  
 “ if, meeting in some parts with veins of harder  
 “ stone, the water had left prominences on one  
 “ side, would not the same cause have sometimes,  
 “ or perhaps generally, occasioned prominences on  
 “ the other side also ? Yet Don Ulloa tells us,  
 “ that on the other side there are always correspond-



said above, my design has been less to explain this prodigy of Nature, than to describe it with such accuracy as to enable the learned to form a judgment on the subject\*.

“ing cavities, and that these tally with the promi-  
 “nences so perfectly, that were the two sides to  
 “come together, they would fit in all their inden-  
 “tures, without leaving any void. I think that  
 “this does not resemble the effect of running wa-  
 “ter, but looks rather as if the two sides had part-  
 “ed asunder. The sides of the break, over which  
 “is the Natural Bridge of Virginia, consist of a veiny  
 “rock which yields to time, the correspondence  
 “between the satient and re-entering inequalities,  
 “if it existed at all, has now disappeared. This  
 “break has the advantage of the one described by  
 “Don Ulloa in its finest circumstance, no portion  
 “in that instance having held together, during the  
 “separation of the other parts, so as to form a bridge  
 “over the abyis.”

TRANSLATOR.

\* They who wish to form an exact idea of the Natural Bridge, must not judge of the ground plan of it, from the aspect presented by its segments in the two landscapes which are engraved. The ground over which travellers pass is almost level; but the parapets formed by the rocks are not so; besides that their declivity is exaggerated by an optical effect, the views having been taken from the banks of the rivulet, and very near the bridge.

Though the spring was far advanced when I visited the Natural Bridge, and it was then the 20th of April, I do not recollect having seen a swallow of any kind. Mr. Le Baron de Turpin did not go thither till the 15th of May, by which time the martins, which appear later than the swallows, had had time to arrive; but I have reason to think that the bird he here describes, is no other than the *swallow with the white rump*, and which is improperly called a martin in some provinces of France.

I shall take this opportunity to observe, that the bird, called in America a *martin* (martinet) is a peculiar species, not known in Europe, and which is no where described, not even in *Catesby*, at least, if he means this bird, in speaking of a Carolina martin, which he calls the *purple martin* \*, unfortunately I am not so able as I could wish to supply this deficiency. Many reasons have prevented me from profiting by my residence in America by abandoning myself to such observations as the trifling knowledge I have gained of natural history would have allowed me to make. In fact, the little room assigned even to general officers for transporting

\* *Peter Kalm*, a Swedish traveller, who has certainly not been sparing of details, speaks very distinctly of this bird: he not even observes that the female is not of the same colour with the male, and seems to confound it with the European, which he calls the *English martin*. See volume III. p. 113. German Edition.

porting their effects, on our departure from Europe, did not allow me to carry any more books than were necessary for the political and military knowledge of the continent, where I was going to make war, and it was beyond my powers to work from memory, and after my own ideas; besides that I had conceived an erroneous notion that every thing was already known and written on a country so well understood and so much frequented as North America. I found, too late however, that I was deceived; the little success attending my efforts to derive some advantage, either from my own curiosity, or from the information of some persons I employed, have convinced me, that it would even now be of great use to send a little caravan, composed of naturalists, geographers and designers, to America. But whilst this project, which has already been proposed, is carrying into execution, I shall here submit a few observations I have made on the *martin* of America.

This bird differs from our European martin in its form, its colour and its manners; in its form, as its body is pretty large, and similar to that of many other birds of different species, such as the blackbird and the starling: in its colour, because if the male be quite black like other martins, the female is of a cindery grey, a little clearer than that of our female blackbird, whilst its breast is of a dirty and mixed white; in its manners, for that instead of being wild like our martin, it is still more familiar, and more domestic, if possible, than our chimney swallow. The Americans have an almost

superstitious respect for these birds; not only do they prepare for them, at the commencement of the spring, earthen pots like those we affix to our walls to attract the sparrows, but they suspend, beneath the projection of the roof, little cages for them to build in. The more credulous of the Americans say that these birds bring good luck to the houses that they visit; the most sensible imagine they are useful, not only in destroying the flies which are very troublesome in summer, but because by their boldness and their cries they drive away the birds of prey, when they come to attack the poultry. These animals are so familiar, that with a little adroitness, one may take them with the hand; their song is far removed from the disagreeable cry of our martin; it resembles rather that of the chimney swallow, but is much more melodious. I never saw them but at liberty, for I confess that having a hundred times resolved to kill at least one or two of them, that I might inspect them more narrowly, I never had the courage; so much did I respect the kind hospitality afforded them, and which they accept with the same confidence.

I do not know why Catesby calls this bird the *purple martin*, for I have never observed the slightest shade of that colour in their wings; those of the male are of the most beautiful black, and as I have already said, those of the female are of a cindery grey upon the back, and the belly is white, mixed with grey. If this bird was not a bird of passage, and a bird, which like all those of the same species, must travel very rapidly, it would appear probable, that



that in approaching the tropics it assumes a purple colour. For we remark a sensible difference in the manner in which different birds, of the same species, are coloured as they approach nearer the tropics, or the equinoctial line. The humming-birds we see in Virginia, and which proceed even into Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, are of a grey colour, and their neck alone displays the colours of the ruby, whilst those of *Guiana* and *Brazil* display, in their whole plumage, that brilliancy which Nature has bestowed only partially upon the others. No species would furnish more examples of this progression in brilliancy and integrity of colours than that of the starling, were not these birds emigrants, and could we but know with accuracy from what country those swarms arrive which we see in the spring. The most beautiful variety of these species is the black starling, called the *blackbird* in America: when perched he appears quite black, but in the folds of his wings he has several feathers of a very lively red, but shaded withal, so as to be compared only to the carbuncle; and, in his flight, his brilliant colours produce an effect so much the more agreeable as it is unexpected. Another variety immediately follows, in the grey starling, which has also several red feathers, but fewer in number, and of a less lively red; a third is of a brown colour inclining to red, something like the hen-pheasant: it has also in the fold of the wings three feathers absolutely red, but of a gloomy red, and without éclat; a fourth species, in short, would be absolutely similar to our European starling, had it not, at the fold of



the wing, three or four reddish feathers, which seem to attest its American origin, and may be regarded as the facings of an incomplete uniform, but which is sufficient to indicate to what army this legion belongs. There is every reason to believe, that if we could ascertain from whence these birds come, which appear only at the commencement of the spring, throughout North America, and even in Virginia and Carolina, we should be able to determine that the greater or less brilliancy of their feathers is owing to the greater or less height of latitude they inhabit during the winter. We read in natural history that the starling is not a bird of passage; this may be true of European starlings, but I can affirm, that from Boston to the bay of Chesapeak, I have never seen one arrive but at the end of winter.

I have not spoken of a sort of starling not mentioned in the natural history of Buffon, but which is to be seen in the King of France's cabinet, and is described by Catesby; it is with this however I should have begun, as being the bird which has led me to this long digression. It is called in America the *fiarling crow*. This bird is a great deal larger than other starlings, and on considering its beak, one is tempted to rank it with the jackdaw; but there is no doubt of its being a real starling, of which it has the cry and the manners; it dwells in marshes, and mixes with all the species of starlings I have mentioned. Its colour is of a mixed and changeable red, which affords, according to the manner in which it is enlightened, bluish and purple shades: now it is probable enough that these birds, whose colour

is originally black, may acquire, from the vicinity of the sun, these purple or blue shades which we remark in the starling crow; and in this case it is possible that the purple martin of Catesby may exist in South Carolina, though I have never seen it in Virginia: but it would still be difficult to explain why this martin, whose origin must be more southerly, should not extend his emigration as far as Virginia and Pennsylvania; for though we have observed that starlings are birds of passage in America, their emigrations must be distinguished from those of the swallows and the martins. There is a great appearance that the starlings content themselves with retiring in winter to the neighbourhood of the lakes and rivers which abound between the Pacific ocean and Atlantic, from 35 to 33 degrees of latitude. It is enough for them, in fact, to avoid the frost which would hinder them from finding subsistence in the marshes; whereas the swallows must return to countries where volatile insects do not cease to flutter in the air during the winter. The following observation however was made by Mr. Fleming, Chief Justice of Virginia, a man worthy of credit, and respectable in every point of view; he assured Mr. Jefferson, that on a winter's day, as he was occupied in superintending the felling of some trees on a spot he was about to sow, he was surprized to see fall, with a large cleft oak, a great number of martins, which had taken refuge and were benumbed in the crevices of the tree, as bats are found in holes of rocks, and caverns. Does this

fact, which it is difficult to contest, prove that martins do not emigrate like quails and storks ; or only that a lazy troop of these birds, having delayed their departure too long, were surprized by the frost, and compelled to seek an asylum for the winter ?

Since I have suffered myself to be led into the discussion of subjects relative to natural history, I shall not terminate this long note without adding another article, on which however I can throw no new light, as it has been treated by the Count de Buffon ; but where I shall have the satisfaction at least of confirming, by irrefragable proofs, what was revealed to him by mere dint of genius alone ; happy to find at once the opportunity of rendering a particular homage to the most illustrious man of the age, and of boasting of that friendship which has so long connected us ; a friendship already of ancient date, since it is coeval with my admiration of his immortal works. We know that one of the most interesting articles of the history of quadrupeds, is that of the *opossum*. Observation discovered that the female of this animal has under its belly a sort of pouch in which it carries its young ones ; that they are never seen out of this pouch, before they are able to run about and seek their food, and that they remain, until that period, always attached to their mother's teat : but ignorance and credulity had adopted all sorts of ridiculous tales respecting the manner in which generation is performed between these animals. I found the opinion established in Virginia, even amongst physicians, that the young of the *opossum* came out of their mother's belly

belly by the teats. Their extreme smallness, at the moment of their birth, alone could give sanction to this opinion, which anatomy would so easily have belied, on the slightest attention. My first occupation in the winter of 1781 to 1782 was to procure some of these animals, and have them dissected. Mr. Robillart, first surgeon to our army, and one of the most expert in France, was pleased to undertake it. Having dissected a male and female, he found the organs of generation similar to those of other quadrupeds, with this only difference, that he observed a bifurcation in the glans penis of the male and the clitoris of the female, and that he discovered in the matrice of the latter a sort of partition or mediastine, which divided it into two departments, but without being continuous enough for the two cavities not to be separate from each other. This was sufficient to confirm and to explain the most essential articles of a description, which Mr. D'Aubenton had an opportunity of taking only from one which was preserved in spirits of wine. But Mr. de Buffon, who with admirable sagacity concluded, that Nature, in forming this animal, had proceeded in a peculiar manner, and given it the faculty of reproducing itself, intermediately, so to speak, between that of quadrupeds and that of birds, in order that the brevity of gestation might correspond with their long incubation in the pouch they are preserved in; Mr. de Buffon added: "No-body has observed the length of the gestation of these animals, which we presume to be much shorter than in others; and as this premature  
exclusion



" exclusion is an example singular in Nature, we  
 " exhort such as have the opportunity of seeing  
 " opossums alive in their native country, to endeavor  
 " to discover how long the females bear them,  
 " and how long also, after their birth, the young  
 " remain attached to the teat before they quit it.  
 " This observation, curious in itself, may become  
 " useful, by pointing out to us possibly some means  
 " of preserving the lives of children born before  
 " their time." Here the *interpreter of Nature*, as it  
 often happens to Asiatic drogomans, was under the  
 necessity of diving into his master's thoughts before he  
 attempted to express them in intelligible language;  
 but when the interpreter is both minister and confidant,  
 it matters little whether he translates or pronounces  
 of himself; accordingly, the only apprehension I had  
 was of not being able to procure the means necessary  
 to prove to the Americans a truth of which I was  
 myself thoroughly persuaded. For to attain this  
 object, it was necessary that tame opossums should  
 be brought to copulate in this domestic state, or  
 rather state of slavery; it was necessary that this  
 union should be productive, and that we should have  
 an opportunity of observing the result. Now, nobody  
 in this country had ever thought of rearing one,  
 and we could only obtain those caught by the  
 soldiers in the woods. I had possessed one, which  
 was become very familiar, but I had sent it to  
 the Comte de Buffon, in the frigate, *L'Hermoine*; the  
 Comte de la Touche, who commanded it, having  
 been so kind as to charge himself with several  
 animals and other objects of natural history I wished  
 to send.



ed to send to Europe. But chance fortunately supplied me better than I could have been by all my endeavours: The Chevalier d'Aboville, *Brigadier des Armees du Roi*, and commander of our artillery, availing himself of our present state of repose, employed, in augmenting his knowledge in physics and natural history, the same talents, and the same activity which had been of such eminent service during the campaign. He reared at his house several animals, and amongst others a female opossum, which he had the good fortune to see conceive, become a mother, and bring up her young in his own house, nay even in his own chamber. I cannot do better than transcribe the observation he made, and with which he has been pleased to favour me.

“ The opossum, says he, is more timid than untractable, and very readily becomes tame. I had a she one sometime before I could get a male. At first she appeared to be afraid of him; and, to avoid a quarrel, I tied up the new comer in a box near my chimney. The female enjoyed the full liberty of the chamber, where she had likewise a box from whence she came out only at night to eat, and drink and void herself. The evening of the second day, after the arrival of the male, whilst I was writing before my fire, I saw the female advance slowly towards the box in which was the male, run under my bed, come towards the box, and return, advancing each time a little nearer, and at length become hardy enough to enter the box of the male, who, instantly, threw himself  
upon

upon her with such precipitation, that having hitherto observed him very indifferent, I concluded it arose from anger. I drew her out, and beat him. A few minutes after she returned to the charge, and the male hearing her approach, came out of his box, and the length of the cord allowing him to join her on the middle of the hearth, he fell upon her with the same impetuosity, and I soon perceived, that as the female was not afraid, I ought not to meddle with their affairs. She was squatted, and the male upon her, with all his feet resting on the ground, and both of them in a state of perfect immobility. I regarded them in this position near half an hour; I passed my finger between them, and could perceive that there was no intromission. My presence did not seem to embarrass them, in the least, but that nothing might interrupt them, I went to bed. The fire before which I left them, gave light enough for me to observe them, which I continued to do for above half an hour in bed, and saw them still remain immoveable. I closed my eyes for a few moments, and the female had mounted on my bed; I carressed her, and passing my hand towards her posteriors, found them wet, from whence I concluded, that notwithstanding appearances, the act of copulation had been fully completed, and the next day I found some spots upon the floor, which were a second proof of it. But I was soon confirmed in my opinion, by the change I perceived in the pouch of the female. They coupld on the 7th of February, and ten days after I remarked that the edge of the orifice of the pouch

was

was rather thicker; this appeared more sensibly the following days, and I observed that the pouch also became larger; and its aperture more widened than before. The night of the 20th, that is to say, thirteen days after the copulation, she did not leave the box till the night was far advanced; and then only to eat; and drink, and void herself, after which she returned immediately to her box, so that I had not time that day to continue to observe the progress of the alteration in her pouch. The fourteenth day towards the evening, seeing that she did not come out of her box, I put my hand into it, which she greatly carressed, licking it, and gnawing it very gently; she embraced my fingers with her little hands, and endeavouring to retain mine when I attempted to withdraw it; I gave her some pieces of meat, which she ate, continuing to caress my hand, and seeing that she could not retain it, she determined to follow it, and came out of her box still keeping hold of my finger. I was anxious to examine the pouch, and the change I perceived in it, convinced me that I had lost much in having missed observing it one day, and that I had suffered the most interesting moment to escape. This pouch which had been gradually widening the preceding days, was then almost closed, presenting only a small round aperture, in the middle of a cavity similar to a navel. The orifice of it was rather moist, and the hair round the orifice was wetted with a glairy humour common to the anus and the vagina. It seemed to me as if I could still have been able to introduce one of my fingers into the pouch; but I thought that

that this could not be effected without forcing the passage, and hurting it, perhaps too, without destroying the delicate embryos it contained. The fifteenth day, whether it was that my impatience got the better of my fears, or whether the orifice of the pouch was really more open than the day before, I introduced my finger, and found, at the bottom of the pouch, a little round body, which appeared to be of about the size of a pea. The mother, who had before allowed me without much difficulty to put my fingers in her pouch, now became very unquiet, and endeavoured to escape, which prevented me from examining with sufficient accuracy to ascertain whether the body was spherical, whether it was adherent, and if there were several of them; but it appeared to me adherent, and situated on one side of the pouch, from whence I concluded that there was a second upon the other side. The sixteenth night she only came out to eat, and returned immediately. The seventeenth day in the evening, she came out, and on examining her pouch, I found two bodies situated at the bottom, the one beside the other, and adherent to the body of the mother; their volume did not exceed that of a pea, and as far as I could judge of their form, by the touch, it appeared to me to resemble that of a fig; with the small end implanted in a base of the form of a segment of a sphere, and exhibited to the finger, inequalities upon its surface. Although I had felt only two bodies, I had no doubt of this pouch containing a greater number. The twenty-fifth day after the copulation, consequently  
the



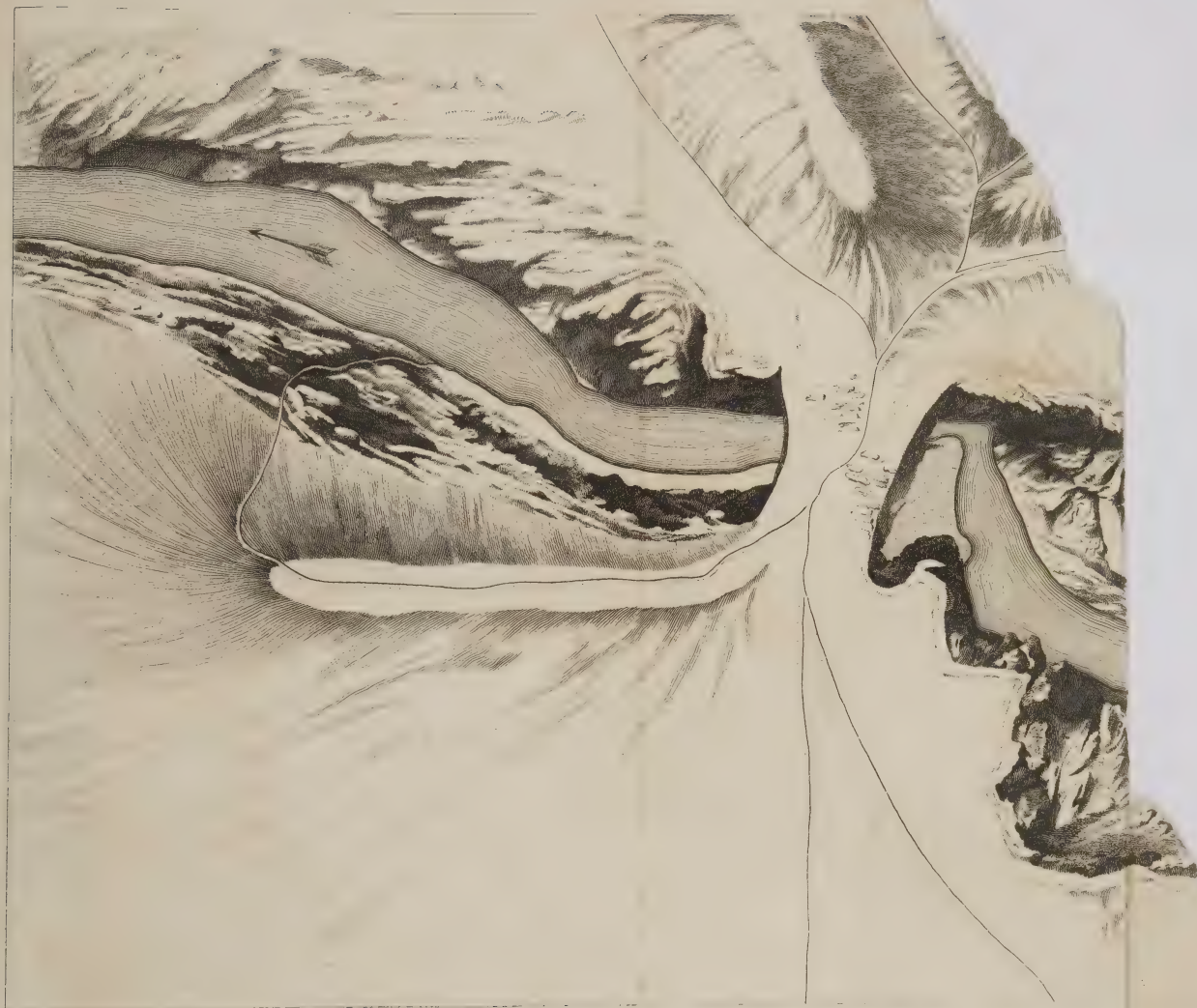
the twelfth of the residence of the young in the pouch, I began to feel them move under the finger, and a month after the second epocha, I could plainly discover them on half opening the pouch. Fifteen days later, it remained naturally open enough to see them freely : and at the end of two months, the female lying down, and the opening of the pouch being in a more lax situation than when she walked, the young ones were partly out of the pouch, and might easily be reckoned : they were to the number of six, all holding to the mother by a canal which enters the maw of the young one, and which cannot be withdrawn, but by such violence as might destroy it, if this should happen at an early period ; for the young one is then unable to take hold again of the teat. But when six weeks old, it can resume it by strong suction, the aperture at the end of the muzzle being barely large enough to receive the pap, which is about two lines in length, and the size of the second or third cord of a violin. The opossum notwithstanding has a very wide maw, but as it remains attached to the mother, Nature has joined the two jaws by a membrane, which dries up and disappears as soon as the young one is three months old, at which term it begins to eat and to walk.

“ The number of the young varies greatly ; I have seen females with ten or eleven, others which had only five or six. There are never more paps than young ones, and when they are weaned, these paps dry up, and detach themselves, as in other animals ; the umbilical string detaches itself from the young ;  
with



with this difference, that the latter preserve the mark of the spot where the string was, whereas the female opossum retains no trace of the points where the teats have been, and which are not, as in other animals, placed in two parallel lines, but irregularly, and as if by accident. It appears as if they formed themselves in those places where the embryos happen to touch the mother's belly when she has conveyed them into her pouch, successively, as she *lays* them; for that is the most proper expression, undeveloped embryos being comparable only to eggs."

## T H E E N D.



GEOMETRICAL PLAN of the NATURAL BRIDGE.

Cook fecit







PERSPECTIVE Taken from POINT A.



Handwritten notes, possibly a list or index, written in cursive script. The text is difficult to decipher due to the handwriting and orientation. Some legible fragments include "1", "2", "3", "4", "5", "6", "7", "8", "9", "10", "11", "12", "13", "14", "15", "16", "17", "18", "19", "20", "21", "22", "23", "24", "25", "26", "27", "28", "29", "30", "31", "32", "33", "34", "35", "36", "37", "38", "39", "40", "41", "42", "43", "44", "45", "46", "47", "48", "49", "50", "51", "52", "53", "54", "55", "56", "57", "58", "59", "60", "61", "62", "63", "64", "65", "66", "67", "68", "69", "70", "71", "72", "73", "74", "75", "76", "77", "78", "79", "80", "81", "82", "83", "84", "85", "86", "87", "88", "89", "90", "91", "92", "93", "94", "95", "96", "97", "98", "99", "100".





T. Cook sculp.

PERSPECTIVE taken from POINT B.





Handwritten notes in cursive script, possibly a list or a series of entries, written on aged, yellowed paper. The text is arranged in several columns and rows, with some lines appearing to be part of a larger, possibly crossed-out, section. The handwriting is fluid and characteristic of the 18th or 19th century.

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